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## Nepali Culture and Society: A Historical Perspective

Prayag Raj Sharma\*

### Introduction

Wedge between India to the south and Tibet (now the autonomous region of the People's Republic of China) to the north, the Kingdom of Nepal has enjoyed an independent political existence from the very earliest times. The boundaries of modern Nepal fixed in the 18th century A.D. touch on Sikkim in the east and Kumaon in the west, roughly enclosing a territory of five hundred miles in length. Its breadth, however, does not exceed one hundred and fifty miles, which occurs only at a few points, making Nepal a tiny rectangular country in the central Himalayas of South Asia. This small strip of territory contains an amazing contrast in landscape and topography, ranging from the flat alluvial plain of the Indo-Gangetic basin, in the south, in its Tarai, to the high-altitude mountains covered with perpetual snow, in the north, in which some of the world's tallest peaks including Mt. Everest are located. Nepal's ethnic diversity is equally rich; multiple languages and a wealth of cultures thrive within its borders. There are at least forty different sizeable language and cultural groups. The predominant group among them is the Nepali-speaking Hindus. These various languages of Nepal fall broadly into two main language families, the Indo-Aryan and the Tibeto-Burman, with one or two small languages betraying their Munda origin. This linguistic cacophony is matched by Nepal's cultural pluralism which has existed dovetailing each other for hundreds of years.

### Physical Isolation of Nepal and its Bearing on Culture

The physical features of Nepal have been decisive in shaping its culture. The many disparate cultures and languages are themselves a product of diverse and difficult terrain. The fastness of the mountains had cut off its people from the outside world, and left them to enjoy a state of undisturbed peace throughout most of Nepal's history. Its isolation protected it from the violent transition of history sweeping north India periodically. This insulation helped Nepal to engender a unique quality of preservation in its cultural heritage. Many old and lost traditions have been preserved in Nepal until today. The French Indologist of repute, Sylvain Lévi, who produced the monumental work, Le Népal, around the turn of the century, has recorded in an article (Lévi, 1925) that one can still meet the authentic image of India that is past, in Nepal. Percy Brown (1912: 127), a British author of the authoritative work on the Indian Architecture supports Lévi in the following words: "Nepal illustrates, as approximately as time and ordinary

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circumstances permit, the state of India before Islam had imprinted its indelible mark on almost every aspect of its life. The manners and customs of people, their religion, arts and industries, the towns and the country, are practically the same as they were ten centuries ago. Nepal ... presents an ideal picture of the Middle Ages - Middle Ages of the East."

The cultural practices of Nepal are essentially of the Hindu and Buddhist derivation finding expressions in the numerous rites and rituals, beliefs, social values, festivals, art and architecture of the land. These are all historical accretions of different ages, of different sources of origin, which make a fantastic spectacle to an onlooker.

The Nepali Buddhism probably survived owing to Nepal's physical isolation from the Indian land mass. The revitalization of Hinduism in the later periods, and the weakening of the monastic character of Buddhism in the following centuries after its inception, had uprooted the religion out of India. The final coup de grâce to Buddhism was rendered by the hordes of Muslim invaders pouring down from central Asia into north India in the 13th century A.D., Nepal's remoteness and difficult access made it a safe haven, so that Buddhism continued to live and be practised here without the threat of any external violence. Buddhism in Nepal, however, underwent a process of internal change in its central philosophy, doctrine and rituals as a result of which it acquired a totally different character from its older monastic form in the subsequent periods. Snellgrove (1957: 91) makes an observation of this fact in the following words: "... Nepal has preserved the most precious traces of what Buddhist India once was. The pagoda type temple, which was already characteristic of India of Yuan-Chwang's times, but has now long since been replaced by other styles, was still being built in Nepal in the 17th century. Iconographic traditions continue even today and can be traced back, directly to old Pala art of Bengal ... It is well-known that Buddhist scholars fleeing India from the Muslim invasions sought refuge in Nepal, Kashmir and Tibet.

Another distinctive trait of Nepalese culture is its power of synthesis and assimilation. It has blended and harmonised even the most opposing philosophies and dogmas reaching its territorial shores. Buddhism and Hinduism have been fused in Nepal quite often, thereby obscuring their sectarian distinctiveness. There are scores of religious rites and festivals which at the popular level of practice by illiterate masses are devoid of any sectarian character. Divinities like Ganesa, Bhairava, Kumari, Saraswati, Vajrayogini, Mahakala, Ajima (Harati) are some of the divinities worshipped as much by the Buddhists as by the Hindus. In the same way, there are many popular festivals in which the devout Hindu and Buddhist communities equally fervently participate. One such festival is the chariot-dragging festival of Matsyendranath, who is understood and venerated by his different followers differently, but who, in actuality, is the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara Padmapani. It is very curious to see depicted the many iconographic features of the Hindu god, Siva, in the representation of this Buddhist divinity in Nepal. Although Matsyendranath's is unmistakably a Buddhist cult- its acknowledged priest



being the Buddhist Vajracaryas- the Hindu King of the country goes to pay him obeisance recognising in him Gorakhnath's preceptor Matsyendra-nath.

### Location as a Cultural Factor

Perched high in the Himalayas, Nepal extends along a terrain that divides the Indian sub-continent from the roof of the world, the Tibetan plateau. The short and easy route to cross the high Himalayas had been provided by the Kuti and the Kyrong passes to the north-east and north-west of the Kathmandu Valley through which communication between India, Tibet and even China had been maintained regularly in the ancient days. The only other route to go to Tibet from India was via Kashmir farther west. These routes were used as much by the traders as by the cultural entrepreneurs until 1904 A.D., when the British Government of India opened an alternative route via Sikkim. Tibet got its alphabet, its religion and its early religious preachers and gurus from India or Nepal, first around the 7th century A.D. Nepal, therefore, had played a vital role in transmitting Indian culture to Tibet through its territory continuously for many centuries. Indian Buddhist scholars and yogis of great eminence came to Nepal, and many of them crossed over to Tibet afterwards. Taranath, the Tibetan historian, who visited India in the 17th century A.D., mentions the great Yogacara philosopher Vasubandhu of the 4th century A.D. to have visited Nepal and died there. Snellgrove mentions Naropa, Darika, Ratnaraksita, Milarepa, etc., several of whom came to visit Nepal, before going on to Tibet. Of special significance is the name of Naropa who taught Marpa and, who, in turn, transferred his knowledge to Milarepa, the founder teacher of Ka-gyu-pa sect of Lamaistic Buddhism in Tibet. Similarly, Atisa of Vikramasila Monastery had gone to Western Tibet after an extended visit to the Nepal Valley first.

Thus, the intermediary position of Nepal had definite bearings on its cultural activity throughout history. The overall effect has been imbibing an amalgam of Tibetan and Indian cultural aspects in its life-style. An example of the extensive mix of the two cultures is provided by the Newar, residents of the Kathmandu Valley, the true seat of ancient Nepal. In complement to the primary Indian influence in their cultural expressions such as their ethnic make-up, their language, paintings, sculptures, temples, their rituals, dance and festivals, there is also an element of Tibetan influence, manifest in all of them.

The traditional 'entrepôt' trade carried out between Tibet and India via Nepali territory, by Nepali traders as well as Kashmiri Muslims residing in Nepal from the 15th century itself, is a well-known fact of history, and a predictable outcome of Nepal's physical location. The Urya castes of the Buddhist Newars are recognised among the prominent class of merchants trading in Lhasa. Nepal's monopoly of trade in Lhasa in the mediaeval period is witnessed by the fact that coins for circulation in Tibet were minted from silver duly received from the Tibetan



government (Walsh, 1908). The route leading from India to Tibet via Nepal was replaced only in 1904 A.D. with the opening-up of a new route through the Chumbi Valley in Sikkim, after Younghusband's mission to Tibet was undertaken.

Whereas the cultural exchanges of Nepal with India have been mainly one-sided, Nepal having drawn mostly upon Indian sources, its relations with Tibet have been more on a reciprocal basis. In the early period of this relationship, Nepal has given profusely to Tibet in the enrichment of its art and religion. Along with India, Nepal, too, had acted and been a spiritual preceptor to Tibet. This relationship continued down to the period of Dharmasvamin, the Tibetan monk-scholar, who spent some years learning in the monasteries of Svayambhu and Dharmadhatu, and also visited Magadh and Tirhut during Ca. 1226-1234 A.D. (Roerich, 1959). Earlier to this, we have also evidence from the travel of Drok-mi, who was an important personage in the establishment of Sa-kya-pa sect in Tibet in the 11th century A.D., for gathering knowledge in his doctrine in Nepal and India (Snellgrove, 1957). Before the hordes of attacking Muslims came to Bihar and Bengal in 1204 A.D. and raged the Buddhist monastic centres to the ground there, Nepali monasteries had maintained strong links with many of these Indian Buddhist centres. When Buddhist scholars from Magadha fled the Muslim invasion to seek refuge in Nepal (some are also said to have fled to Tibet), the Nepali monasteries at that time are said to have hummed with a great deal of erudite activity of these Buddhist scholars. According to Taranath, 'Ratnarakshita was one of the last pundits to seek refuge in Nepal', after the destruction of Odantapuri and Vikramasila monasteries in Magadha by the Muslims (Snellgrove, 1957) had taken place.

The first relations of Nepal with Tibet start taking place in the reign of Srong-tsan-sgam-po, the first king to lay foundations of a dynastic rule and introduce Buddhism in Tibet. Legends invented around the 10th century A.D. speak of his marrying the Nepali princess, Bhrikuti, who is believed to have brought with her objects connected with the Buddhist religion in her nuptial gifts. Irrespective of the historicity of this legend, one point which it scores nicely is the honour and esteem with which Tibet had been looking upon Nepal in the matter of its religion in those days. Bhrikuti has thus been permanently consecrated in the sacred memory of the Tibetans, since she has been identified as one of the Taras (green Tara) by the people in that country.

Another illuminating episode in Nepal-Tibet relationship derives from the life of an young Nepali artist, A-ni-ko (This spelling of the artist's name is Chinese, because our knowledge about him derives solely from the Chinese sources, which is in the form of a funerary stone erected over his grave, and lying near the village of Hsian-Shan, in the district of Yuan-P'ing, west of Beijing.), who was invited to build a monastery of the Sa-kya-pa order in Tibet by its abbot in ca. 1263 A.D. A-ni-ko's work in Tibet must have been of a remarkable order, because he was commended from there to the imperial courts of Kublai Khan in Beijing, where he is said to have risen to even greater heights of his artistic achievements (Petech, 1958). His was by no means a lone instance of

Nepali artists, particularly in the field of bronze-casting, going to work in Tibet on commission... It had become a common practice for Tibetans to call in Nepali artists to work for them until very late times.

This trend of exchange was reversed, however, in the later Malla period. Nepali artists, who returned after a long period of stay in Tibet, were probably imbued in some of the more typical art styles native to Tibet, especially in bronze-casting and thangka paintings. Therefore new styles start showing up in a remarkable degree in the art of Nepal from then on. As the Indian source had dried up by this time, the artistic and spiritual sustenance of Nepali art had to come from Tibet, at least in refurbishing its Buddhist Tantric-Vajrayana cults.

### Time-Space Equation of Culture

Having discussed some of the broad features characterising the Nepali culture and its conditioning, it should be interesting to see it further in the light of a time-space equation. The political history of Nepal before the middle of the 18th century had consisted of a string of petty states and principalities scattered all through its hills, from east to west, each one of them having a king of its own. Historians may be right in thinking that the present political entity of Nepal is a creation of the process of unification started by Prithvinarayan Shah of Gorkha in the 18th century. But, surprisingly, a centripetal force seems to have always been at work in Nepal from a long time before that event, with its centre located in the Kathmandu Valley. This was the place which had been the seat of the kingdom of ancient Nepal and it is the history of this place which seems to have set in motion the course of events, as it were, happening in Nepal's distant and outlying regions. The extent of this centripetal force exerted by Nepal roughly covered the space corresponding to Nepal's present boundaries and, sometimes, even exceeded it. Thus in the course of Nepal's history of two thousand years, it seems to have been the focus of activity in the entire region and had been a land which was able to exert an irresistible attraction on these people to come and merge themselves in it. In the following lines, we will try to illustrate some of the events underlying this pull factor and, along with it, explain the verticality and horizontality of Nepal's historical-cultural development, that is, relate its chronology to its extent in space.

The ancient historical land of Nepal had been constituted mainly by the present day Kathmandu Valley. It is here that Nepal's history and culture have undergone a continuous and uninterrupted development for more than two millennia. Nepal was able during this time to produce a civilization having a distinctive personality of its own, expressed through its diverse art forms such as its sculptures, paintings, wood-work and its architecture. The fame of this land has been recorded in many ancient writings and literature of this region. Its physical isolation for centuries, which cut it off from the plains of Northern India, earned it the name of a land of mystery--a Shangrila -- in the parlance of its outside visitors. The land has been glorified with all possible



exaggeration, its sacredness being made comparable to any other holy centre in India, in works of local composition in Sanskrit of the 14th-15th century A.D., such as the Nepala Mahatmya, Pashupati Purana and Swayambhu Purana, as well as in some other local chronicles. These various works render, among other things, accounts from the genesis of the Nepal Valley from the earliest times when it was a lake of water with no human settlement in it, to the manner in which the water of the lake had been drained off through the Chovar gorge at the south-west of the Valley by the prowess of either Manjusri Bodhisattva, who came for this purpose from Mahachina, or by Krishna, depending upon the religious affiliation of these works, Buddhist or Hindu. Before all that could take place, a lotus had bloomed in the lake, heralding the appearance at the spot of Adi Buddha (the Primordial Buddha). This place in the Valley nowadays is indicated by the Swayambhu Stupa atop a hill. The Valley's history consisting of its kings, its numerous deities and its people only followed these incidents and made the place fit for habitation. The Valley's main river Bagmati, as well as its tributary streams, takes its origin in the surrounding hills to its north, and the entire water of the place drains out from its only outlet at Chovar gorge. According to the local chronicles, all the mortal Buddhas preceding Shakyamuni came to pay obeisance to the Adi Buddha to this place. Buddha Shakyamuni is also credited with visiting the Valley in the reign of the Kirati king, Jitadesti. The same sources also talk of the visit to the Valley by King Ashoka of Magadha, Buddhism's greatest ever propagator, with great flourish, and credit him with building the five stupas in Patan, and giving one of his princesses, Charumati, in marriage to a local prince during the reign of another Kirati king, Sthunko.

The above is all a legendary account, of course, which can be known only from the authority of the chronicles. Notwithstanding the historical truth of these accounts, one thing which it is clearly able to show, is the fact that a Nepal-centric view among the people of that time had already dawned to a remarkable extent. The data for the early series of the chronicles is believed to be 14th century A.D. The attraction held by Nepal to its surrounding regions which the chronicles seem to suggest, is also borne from other historical facts. All these incidents serve to show how Nepal's relations with its surrounding regions had been like that of a centre with its periphery.

At the time when the Nepal Valley was supposedly being ruled by the Kirati dynasty, two regions in the present day Nepal Tarai, one in Janakpur, and the other in Kapilvastu, along with their adjoining territories in India, provide us with the first beacon of history. One throws light on the kingdom of Mithila with its capital at Videha. The fame of this kingdom had reached its peak at the time of the reign of the philosopher king, Janak, whose daughter, Sita Janaki, was married to Ram of Ayodhya, as narrated in the Ramayana. Although all these personages connected with Mithila cannot be historically attested for, the Buddhist literary works tell us about Videha being part of the Vrijji confederacy, of which Licchavis were also a member. In the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal later, there is reference to a word Vrijjkarathyanivasi, meaning the resident of Vrijjkarathya, which probably indicated a place within the Nepal Valley, where people from Vrijji origin in India had come and settled (Dhanavajra, 1973).

The Lumbini-Kapilvastu region in the central Tarai is another historically important area, connected with the Buddha. Lumbini is the site marking the Lumbini garden of the Buddhist literary works, where Buddha, 'the light of Asia,' was born in 563 B.C. according to the Cantonese reckoning of this event. There is a pillar at this site erected by Ashoka in the twentieth year of his reign (Ca. 249 B.C.) with an inscription saying that it was here at this Lumbini village that, Shakyamuni, or the 'lion of the Shakyas', was born. Some kilometers west of Lumbini, at a spot called Tilaurakot and near the modern town of Kapilvastu, is a site of extensive ruins believed to be the remains of the ancient city of Kapilvastu, and where Gautama is said to have spent the first twenty-nine years of his life in a princely luxury. Adjacent to the Sakya country were the states of some of the prominent ancient Indian clans of Northern India, such as the Koliyas, the Mallas and the Licchavis, who lived close to the borders of Nepal in the times of Buddha (Law, 1943). Although Buddha's visit to Nepal Valley remains preserved only in the assertion of chronicles, whose historical truth may not yet be confirmed, a large number of people from these smaller states and connected with the life of the Buddha seem to have fled to Nepal in the wake of the rise of the imperial powers in India, which one may regard as historically true (Dhanavajra, 1973). Events happening as far away as some of these regions in northern India would bring people, living in these small republican states and following the path of the Buddha in their religion, gravitating towards the ancient land of Nepal. It was not probably mere coincidence of the tradition of Buddhism has been a continuous one in Nepal until today. Notwithstanding the fact that Buddhism in Nepal has gone through some drastic changes from its original monastic character (Allen, 1973), it will still have the credit of preserving itself, while it completely disappeared from the rest of the Indian sub-continent. The story of Buddhism may also underscore the idea of Nepal's spatial unity with some of the regions of early Buddhism.

From here on, we turn back to consider the history of the Nepal Valley once again. The Licchavi period is the earliest historically known period of ancient Nepal. Inscriptions of this period, all in Sanskrit language and Licchavi (Gupta) script, are available between the middle of the fifth century A.D. and the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. It is in the records of this time that we get to know about people from the various Indian states, including some of the prominent groups such as the Licchavis, coming to live in Nepal permanently. The penetration of the Indo-Aryan culture in Nepal may have started happening since a much earlier period, but the extent to which it took place was probably smaller in comparison to the indicization of Nepali culture later in the Licchavi period. The result of this extensive indicization is reflected in the fields of Nepali art, architecture, religion, society, politics, its tradition of learning and sciences, etc. There were suitable modifications made at the time of or in course of absorbing and assimilating them no doubt, as these were necessitated by reasons of having to adapt them to local conditions and/or to the genius of its makers. The element of distinctiveness and personality of Nepali culture and civilization in all these spheres derives from this very fact. The mix that we see characterising the modern Newari



Newari social and religious traditions, arts and crafts, made with elements between the Indo-Aryan and the Tibeto-Burman cultural streams, is amply illustrative of this fact.

In the 11th century A.D., a certain Nanyadeva of the Karnatak dynasty founded a kingdom in Tirhut with its capital at Simraungarh, at the foot-hills immediately to the south of Nepal. This kingdom lay extending to both sides of the Indo-Nepalese borders in the Champaran and Purnea districts of northern Bihar, as well as in territories along Nepal's eastern Tarai. A succession of kings ruled this kingdom for about a century and a half, beginning with Nanyadeva's reign in Ca. 1090 A.D. Its last important king, Harisimhadeva, fled the invading army of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq of Delhi, and took to the hills in the north. Harisimhadeva himself did not live long after his escape, and died on the way. The rest of the members of his family succeed, however, in entering Nepal and occupying an important place in the court of Nepal. Harisimhadeva's lineage is ultimately linked by marriage with the descendants of the ruling Mallas in course of time (Petech, 1958). This social liaison is given so much value by the Malla kings of Nepal flourishing subsequently that they began proudly donning the title of the Karnatakavamsi, which meant of the lineage of Karnataka, in front of their names ever since then. The Maithili influence in the court of Nepal in the later Malla period is another facet of this contact with Tirhut felt widely in the spheres of its language, literature, religion and social values. The tutelary deity of the Malla kings, Taleju, whose shrines are to be invariably found located within the palace precincts of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, is believed to have been brought there from Tirhut by the family of Harisimhadeva. Brahmans from Mithila who were brought to work in the temples of Nepal should also generally date from this time. The kingdom of Tirhut made many attempts to physically run down Nepal during the years of its hey day, but the absorption of these two areas and their cultures into a single political entity was, however, destined to happen in a different manner much later.

The Licchavi period is followed by the so-called Thakuri period (Ca. 750-1200 A.D.), and again by the Malla period (Ca. 1201-1768 A.D.), in the history of Nepal based in the Kathmandu Valley. During all this time, the artistic activities in Nepal, for which it is so well-known, had continued in an unabated manner. In the Malla period, it is true, the fluency of the art of the earlier periods, bestowing an individuality and originality on each of its creation especially in the fields of sculptural arts, was missing, but, nevertheless, we do come across a whole new range of Nepali art-forms made in new mediums, such as bronze, painting and woodworks in abundance at this time. The pleasant show of volume, supported by a graceful proportion and a naturalistic modelling, endowing a spontaneity of outline on the figures of the art of the earlier period, gives way now to a more stylised form. There is more rigidity than creative originality to see in the works produced at this time, but it is at this time, however, that the more distinctive regional features of the Nepali art forms and cultural practices begin to emerge.

The Malla rule came to an end through the military conquest of Prithvinarayan Shah of Gorkha, a small principality of the Chaubisi region to the west of Kathmandu Valley, in 1768-69 A.D. It was a state lying outside the political pale of ancient Nepal. It was also different in its ethnic, linguistic and cultural make-up from that of the Valley, although, the latter too, like the former, was indic in its cultural derivation. The conquest of Nepal by Gorkha amounts to a substitution of one culture at the centre by another. The culture of the Nepal Valley, which had so long been the sovereign national culture of Nepal to all its residents until the time of the Gorkha conquest, was changed into an ethnic culture of the Newars, now reduced to a minority. Although this is true enough and may look like a subordination of one community by another, it is also equally true that the new regime was not always intolerant and showed not the slightest hesitation in not only patronising but owning up many of the achievements made in the artistic field of the Newars as part of its cherished national heritage. Neither the Newar art and architecture, nor the large pantheon of their religion, was rejected by the new rulers as alien to their own traditions.

The hills of Nepal were dotted with a myriad of petty states and principalities during the 16th-18th century period, before Prithvinarayan Shah began to conquer them all one by one, consolidate them into a single political entity, and to call it by the name picked from one of its vanquished territories. Such was the sheer prestige and attraction held by the ancient name of Nepal and its rich history that an altogether differently originated ethnic regime, which was also its conqueror, allowed itself to merge with it. The petty principalities in Nepal's hills at that time were grouped in the two main geographical clusters, called the Baisi, i.e. twenty-two, and the Chaubisi, i.e. twenty-four, whose territorial locations broadly corresponded to the Karnali and Gandaki regions of Nepal, respectively. Gorkha was a principality that was situated within the Chaubisi cluster and lay in the hills immediately adjoining Nepal.

All these states in the Baisi and the Chaubisi clusters are believed to have been formed out of the remains of a single prosperous kingdom in the Karnali Basin in western Nepal's hills during the 12th-14th century period, which was ruled from its twin capitals at modern Sinja and Dullu, near Jumla and Dailekh respectively (Sharma, 1972). This big kingdom has been called the Khassa kingdom in its epigraphical records by its rulers. But some historians have also designated it as the kingdom of the Western Mallas. The ethnic composition, culture and language of all these states of the hills were shared in common, and their earliest historical roots are traceable to the Khassa kingdom of Western Nepal, above. The strongest expression of a common bond between all these descendant states of the Khassa kingdom had been their language indeed, called the Khasakura.

For about fifty years, from the time of Jitarimalla, one of its kings in the last quarter of the 13th century A.D., the Khassa kingdom organised successive forays against Nepal, during which time its kings



either plundered the riches of the Valley or offered pilgrimage and worship at the celebrated shrines there. This fact furnishes yet another proof of the ever-present centripetal law of force operating between these two regions in Nepal's mediaeval history. Although the Khasa foryas did not bring them any immediate political reward of Nepal's annexation by them, they ultimately paved the way for that. The people of this kingdom began constantly migrating eastwards in the hills of Nepal beginning from this time on their own individual enterpreneurship of a search for new and better lands for tending agriculture and animal-raising. The push eastwards by these people may have been given further impetus by lateral additions of new arrivals from India from time to time as they came to settle and assimilate themselves into an already prevailing social and political order of the hills later. This process of a big population shift from west to east could not have remained unaccompanied by its attendant political consequences, which becomes manifest in the emergence of the various Baisi and Chaubisi states all over the hills, populated by these people. Gorkha alone, among these states, rose to be the most powerful of all, and succeeded in giving realisation to the long cherished dream of the people of Nepal's hills of politically merging themselves into the ancient stream of Nepal's history.

Thus, the two main streams contributing to the culture of Nepal are those provided by the Newar culture of the Kathmandu Valley and that of the culture of the Khasas based in Nepal's western hills, flowing, as it were, from two separate directions and converging at one point of time in 1768 A.D. One of these streams had consisted of a people endowed with a rich artistic sense, and the other had a people whose attainments lay in martial traditions. The analogy of the Athenians and the Spartans in the Classical period of the Greek history may perhaps be the most appropriate one to give here. If one stream gave this new political entity name of a sufficient prestige and antiquity, the other gave it its lingua franca (Sharma, 1973), that has proved the Nepali language an effective tool for preserving modern Nepal's continued national integration.

### Religion

As in other countries of Asia, religion plays a vital role in sustaining the culture of Nepal. It helps to explain every single action and behaviour of its people in their daily lives, because there is no aspect that religion does not affect in the lives of the Nepali people. It has been a prime motivator for people among both the literate and non-literate groups, as well as among followers of higher and smaller religious traditions of Nepal.

To many smaller socio-ethnic groups of Nepal, who neither follow Hinduism nor Buddhism, their religion is a form of animism. Such a religion implies having faith in the existence of a host of spirits. They have their own specialists to conduct and propagate this religion. These men know and are adept in using oracular methods in dealing with and controlling these spirits. The shamans, as these specialists are

called, are known by various names among the different ethnic and cultural groups, and the names by which their spirit-gods would be known are also differently called by them. Nevertheless, there is a broad similarity in the basic approach among such religions. It is not our purpose to deal with them in greater detail here. After making a passing reference to them, we therefore return to see at some length the two prominent classical religions, Hinduism and Buddhism of Nepal, below.

Hinduism today enjoys the status of being the state religion of Nepal. Its constitution says that only a follower of the Hindu religion of the Aryan race, in the lineage of the present ruling family, can become the king of Nepal. Nepal's laws also make cow a sacred and a protected animal. Further, followers of this religion are in a great majority in Nepal. Buddhists are estimated to be about ten percent of Nepal's 15 million population, and Muslims, about three percent. There is also a smaller percentage of the followers of minor religious groups, but if these are local animistic religions, the Hindu majority of Nepal does not seem to regard them as being non-Hindu, in a characteristically all-comprehending religious ethos of Hinduism. This fact lends a basic note to understanding Nepal's Hinduism.

There are three main ethnic groups among the followers of Nepal's Hinduism: the Nepali-speaking Hindus of the hill origin, the Hindus of the Tarai in the Maithili, Bhojpuri and Awadhi-speaking groups and, lastly, the Newars of Kathmandu Valley origin. Aside of some customary practices specific to these groups, there is otherwise a complete agreement in their broader dogmas and doctrines. These have been sustained by a rich literature relating to the epics, puranas, dharmastras, and diverse other cults and practices, the main body of which was written and produced in India. Nepali Hinduism has constantly revived and re-invigorated itself from religious movements and activities in India, practically in all ages. The doctrinal support to various such religious movements there was provided by written works, or by writing new interpretations and commentaries on such works.

Hinduism must have started penetrating the Himalayas right from the time of writing the epics. It is difficult to say which of the two religions, Hinduism or Buddhism, came to influence Nepal first. Most local chronicles give the impression that Buddhism is the older of the two religions in Nepal. However, when written records open in the middle of the 5th century A.D., both religions appear to have been already popular. The two prominent theistic cults of Hinduism, Vaishnavism and Shaivism, and deities belonging to their pantheon, are widely referred to in the Licchavi records. The shrine of Pashupatinath is the preeminent Shaiva centre proclaiming the long popularity of Shiva cult in Nepal. Its prestige today far transcends the limits of this cult alone, so that it is an all too important deity in the national life of the Nepali people.

There were Brahmans well-versed in the Vedic method of worship and sacrifices in the Licchavi period. The picture one draws of the Brahmanical religion of Nepal at that time does not seem to have been much different from what it was during the Gupta rule in India. During the post-Licchavi period and in the times until the rise of Jayasthitimalla (Ca. 1382-95 A.D.), some of the tenets and practices of Hindu religion had obviously been weakened by certain attending circumstances, of which we cannot get any clear idea at present. The elaborate social reforms undertaken by Jayasthitimalla seem to have been a result of the step taken in countering this very situation, and in placing Nepali Hinduism, especially in the field of caste reorganisation, once again on its keel, in order that it may gain a comparable status with other Hindu societies of the time in the region. Not surprisingly, he was helped in this task by Brahmans obtained from outside. The new set of Brahman priests consisting of the Rajopadhyayas and the earlier mentioned Maithili Brahmans, who gave service to the Newar Hindus, was obviously added about this time of Jayasthitimalla's social reorganisation. The social situation of Nepal before the reorganisation seems to have been marked by a state of flux and the Brahman's caste was probably not so clearly delineated from the rest of the other upper castes. Orthodox Brahmanism of the earlier periods had probably tended to weaken owing to the assimilative nature of Nepali culture eager to set its own norms. The basis of such a thinking comes from the fact that some of the Hindu high-caste Newars, who are not reckoned among the Brahman castes today, are still continuing to bear surnames similar to those of the Brahmans, and perform some of their priestly roles in the religious rites of the many temples of the Valley. These castes are those of the Joshi, Acharya, Karmacharya, Gurvacharya, etc. Brahmans have usually held their unchallenged monopoly in the fields of astrology and medicine as well. That is what the Joshis and the Vaidyas among the Newar high castes still seem to be doing. It is possible that before Jayasthitimalla imported fresh groups of Brahmans, their role in Nepal had been fulfilled by the Licchavi Brahman's descendants, whose purity, from reasons of inter-marriages and other lapses, may have been considered diluted later on.

Buddhism presents a more interesting case in the study of the religion of Nepal. In the first place, it managed to survive in Nepal, even though it became extinct from the rest of the Indian sub-continent. In the form it has survived in Nepal today has been called by some as a gross distortion of its original monastic character and as all but its absorption into Hinduism (Snellgrove, 1957). Although this may be a highly lamentable aspect of Nepali Buddhism from the viewpoint of a puritanic religionist, such a development of the religion cannot be said to be wholly without its significance to an anthropologist. From the earliest known historical time in the Licchavi period, Buddhism in Nepal has been Mahayanistic in its philosophic doctrines and its theistic practices. The ultimate aim of the practitioner of this creed is to attain Buddhahood, but, unlike the follower of the other branch of Buddhism, the Hinanayana, his purpose is not to seek to liberate only himself from suffering in life, but to work tirelessly until all the creatures and sentient beings of the world are liberated. The philosophic basis of



this religion was provided by the Madhyamika philosophy of sunyata, which postulates that the entire phenomenon of the visible world and its idea in ultimate truth, is nonexistent. In the subsequent centuries, Mahayana transforms itself into the Vajrayana order, which is a still later form of its development. The outer symbolism of this creed is represented mainly by a Vajra, i.e., a thunderbolt, embodying the philosophy of sunyata. Its most authoritative exponent is regarded to be Indrabhuti in his work Jñanasiddhi, in which he has reinterpreted the idea of the 'void' or sunyata, and which he says is not wholly a nonexistent concept, but which upon realisation or after gaining enlightenment by a practitioner, changes into an experience of eternal consciousness. To think and to practise in this way of sunyata is to follow in the 'adamantine path' or 'adamantine vehicle'. The two most important treatises for the Vajrayana religion are the Guhyasamaja and the Manjusrimulakalpa, which lay down the principal basis of this religion. In the former, we are told about the phenomenal world which is an emanation of the original Tathagata (Adi Buddha or Primordial Buddha). The five Dhyani Buddhas, whose place in the Vajrayana religion of Nepal is of the highest meaning and significance, are also emanated divinities from this original Tathagata. The whole range of the Vajrayana pantheon, in its turn, is a multiplication of and emanations from the five Dhyani Buddhas. The Dhyani Buddhas are universally accepted in all the Buddhist shrines of Nepal. In fact, the older earthen tumulus of the stupa held sacred for reasons of its containing the ashes of the Buddha, succeeds in getting transformed into an iconic and cult representation in its own right, so that it is now depicted with a pair of eyes and a nasal marking like in a human face, such being the form to represent the transcendental Buddha. The concept of the Five Dhyani Buddhas is believed to have been completed around the 8th century A.D., although the Amitayus Sutra, a work of the 1st century itself, refers in it to one of their members, Amitabha, (Bhattacharya, 1958).

The final phase of the development of Buddhism in Nepal was dominated by a set of new religious works called the tantras. In their basic philosophic moorings, the tantras do not depart from the earlier Buddhist Sutra works, but they lay a good emphasis on ritual practices for the purpose of attaining Buddhahood, which they seem to consider possible to achieve in this very life. For attaining this objective, new ritual techniques are enjoined upon, such as the recitation of the mantras (syllables loaded with mystical and magical power), display of mudras (hand gestures), drawing and use of mandalas (ritual diagrams) in worship and meditation. Such diagrams are supposed to be a linear representation of the cosmic order, and deities are arranged along it assigning them various spaces in this cosmogony. Each of these diagrams makes depiction by proclaiming its own set or family, and there is a separate treatise of tantra to explain each such set. Various tantric treatises have thus been composed focussing around one or the other principal deity attended upon by their subsidiary members, the conceptual unity to which is provided by the belief that all deities are in ultimate derivation the manifestation of the same underlying Buddhahood.

The conduct of this religion became a more private and esoteric affair practised in a seclusion between the new aspirants eager to become initiates in this path and their preceptors (acharyas). Leaving aside its conceptual part, which enjoins, among other things, worship by meditating on the form of the deity to be so worshipped, some of the outward ingredients used in the tantric mode of worship consist of animal flesh, fish, liquor and use even of sexual acts. The act of sex was obviously done, in a symbolic and ritual context probably in imitation of the act of sexual embrace of Heruka and his Shakti (consort). This posture of depicting the Buddhist Mahayana-Vajrayana deities is popular with other deities as well and can be frequently seen depicted in the thangkas and bronzes. The philosophy behind such a depiction of sexual posture was, according to Bhattacharya (Bhattacharya, 1958), to convey the idea of sunyata or to facilitate the realisation of the ultimate truth which is said to be nothing but consist of an all pervading emptiness. This is the concept of salvation according to the followers of the Mahayana-Vajrayana Buddhism. The bold use of some of these symbolic sexual acts in their rituals has made tantrism a religion of dubious value in the eyes of some people, but there is no doubt that it was a potent religious force at the time it flourished.

When Tantrism was in a period of its high ascendancy in Nepal sometime in the mediaeval period, Hinduism itself could not remain unaffected by its outlook. Its influence has been felt highest in the different sects of Shaivism. The popularity of the cult of the Matrika goddesses in the Malla period may not itself have been due to a tantric influence, but the methods of worship used in many shrines dedicated to these goddesses were not free from such an influence. One of the most significant contributions made by Tantrism to the religious practices of Nepal lies in its ability to blur the sectarian distinctiveness of the various Buddhist and Hindu gods. This fact is veritably described to be Nepal's most publicized spirit of religious syncretism.

In the course of this development, Buddhism in Nepal has come to lose both its monastic character as well as its community of saffron-clad celibate monks among its practitioners (Allen, 1973), like in the days of the yore. The monks are replaced now by a set of people specialised in conducting and officiating in rituals, called the Vajracharyas. These people act more like priests than monks practising all kinds of vows and austerities, lead a life of marriedhood, and occupy the monasteries now turned into their private residential quarters. The society of these priests today is a closed one in which not everybody desirous of learning the ways of the creed could hope to find entry. The Vajracharyas today are out and out a caste group, occupying their highest position among Newar Buddhist caste groups, paralleling the Brahmins among the Hindus. Their rituals are many and diverse, and these rituals are explained and supported on their own Buddhistic texts. But, notwithstanding this, these texts, at every step, seem to emulate and be devised upon Brahmanical ritual practices. Some of their most common rites such as the kalasa puja, mandala puja and homa puja (Locke, 1975) seem to be ultimately modelled on the quite familiar Brahmanical methods of similar rituals.

## Society

We have already hinted at the nature of the ethnic diversity and cultural plurality of Nepal at the beginning of this paper. The habitats of these various groups of people are found distributed everywhere, from the Tarai to the hills. But, whereas each one of these groups is, even now, by and large, seen confined within its own traditional area of settlement, the Hindu ethnic group of the hills alone, which is also the predominant group of Nepal, both numerically and politically, owing to its instinctive mobility in the hills in search of new lands for farming and cattle-raising, is seen settled everywhere, throughout Nepal.

Some of the ethnic groups living in the Tarai, whose population ranges from a few thousand among the smaller groups to several hundred thousand among the larger ones, are the Meche, Satar, Rajbansi, Dhimal, Bodo, in the east, and the Dangar, in the central Tarai. But the largest ethnic group of the Tarai is the Tharu settled from east to the west. Despite this fact, the most commonly acknowledged home of the Tharu in Nepal is the Dang Valley in the west of Nepal. The middle hills of Nepal, which is its most densely populated region, presents a still larger array of these smaller ethnic groups living in it. The groups living in this region, too, are distributed in the various ecological and altitudinal zones, such as the river basins, lower sub-tropical hills and the higher sub-temperate hills, in which the hill topography of Nepal finds itself divided. The groups living in the warm, low altitude valley-bottoms are the poorer and economically more backward peoples such as the Raji, the Majhi, the Bote, the Kumal, the Danuwar, the Darai, etc. In a little higher altitudes, but still lying along the lower range of the middle hills, are the Raute (a semi-nomadic vanishing tribe), the famous Magar tribe, the Chepang, the Thani and the Hayu. Paralleling them, along the upper reaches of the middle hills, are the more well-known and populous ethnic groups of Nepal, such as the Gurung, the Tamang, the Rai and the Limbu. Besides them, there are also some other groups, such as the Kham Magar, the Sunuwar and the Lepcha, living in these hills. The zone close to the high Himalayas, along the Himalayan south face and in the trans-Himalayan Valleys, live the Bhote (Tibetan) populations of many regional and dialectical groups, the Sherpas, the Thakalis and the Manangis being the most well-known among them (Bista, 1972).

For a country of Nepal's size, its ethnic diversity is not only extremely rich, but what has been called its tribal population is also quite large. It is roughly estimated to be 22 to 25 percent of Nepal's total population. This ratio is certainly much larger than the estimated 7 percent tribal population in India. Thus, one may hope that the juxtaposition of the Hindu caste groups with groups, whose social organisation betrays little of the concept of a caste hierarchy, presents a unique chance of studying the social consequences of this interaction in Nepal.



This interaction, which came in the wake of the first contact between these two groups of cultures following the penetration of the Hindus into the Himalayan terrain, discussed above, took place on an intimate note and continued over a long time in history. It obligated the Hindus, as political rulers of the land, to redefine some of the bases of social relationship in order to accommodate the diverse ethnic groups within their fold, which they would probably not have done in a more homogeneous cultural setting elsewhere. Their cultural practices, instead of being the customary practices of people confined within themselves, were duly recognised by the state by proclaiming their validity in the Legal Code. The Hindu-tribal social relationship prevalent in Nepal strikes a far deeper note of intimacy than anywhere else.

The first Legal Code (Muluki Ain) of Nepal was compiled and promulgated by the first Rana Prime Minister, Jung Bahadur, in 1854 A.D. But long before this compilation, many of the codified laws had existed as operational laws in the social and religious life of the people of Nepal, sanctioned by its tradition, kings and its rulers. When the Hindus came to the Himalayas, they came with their predetermined ideas regarding their social and religious values. But what was to happen of the people who were living there from a much earlier time and whose lands they came to seize, in terms of giving them a social position in their social order? The matter was further complicated, because these indigenous people did not share in many of the values of the Hindus and conducted their life-style adhering to their own customary practices. Their number was so large, and there certainly were among them people of social and political prestige, irrespective of what cultures they adhered to, who could not be ignored or overlooked. Therefore, the Hindus had here some problem of fitting their pre-existing model of a social or caste hierarchy in the dense ethnic milieu of Nepal, which recognised very little of such notion at least in a ritual purity-pollution sense. In the case of India, viewing it from the situation today, the high-caste groups like to call themselves as savarna and keep themselves quite aloof and refrain from interacting with the tribal groups except for their economic exploitation. But, in Nepal, all ethnic groups, whether big or small, have been accorded a place within the Hindus' all-encompassing single social order, with each group getting a well-defined ranking in it. The classical four-fold varna division itself was not changed for adjusting these groups, since the Hindus reserved the higher categories for themselves and adjusted all the other groups in the lowest but clean category of this model. What is however remarkable in doing this is that the Hindus showed no unwillingness whatsoever to interact with them despite some of their cultural practices and food habits being distinctly antithetical to them (Hindus). Despite their being placed in the shudra rank, it did not prevent the cord-wearing castes from taking wives from among their women (the ethnic groups') in a socially acceptable manner and according a higher social status than the mother's caste to the progeny thus born. The social adjustment for the offspring out of such wedlocks would be made by promoting him to the caste of his father and granting him the cord. Only when the father was a cord-wearing Brahmin would the progeny of this inter-caste marriage be adjusted

within the castes of the Chhetris. This practice makes the tribe-caste relationship of Nepal appear less as a dichotomy and more as a continuum (Sharma, 1978). Such a socialisation process of some of these ethnic groups in Hindu society had been taking place even before the times of Prithvinarayan Shah. The Magar and the Gurung were the most preferred ethnic groups for recruitment in the army of Gorkha and, therefore, for this reason, their social prestige was deemed better than that of the other ethnic groups, and perhaps regarded as closest to the Hindu warrior's caste.

The assimilation of the ethnic groups in the manner outlined above did not jeopardise the basic social structure of the Hindus. The accepted notion of a vertical order in caste rankings remained intact much as everywhere else. Save the groups of Muslims and the Christians (Europeans), who were regarded as outsiders totally to the Hindu society, (Gaborieau, 1972) the Hindu law-makers comprehended all other groups of Nepal, however divergent, within their social order. This social universe of theirs was called the 'four varnas and thirty-six castes' (char varna chhattis jat). The multiplicity of these castes was vertically arranged grouping them in five categories. The highest category in it was that of the cord-wearing (tagadhari) castes, at the head of which were the Brahmins. The next category consisted of the unenslaveable liquor-drinking castes (namasinya matawali jat), in which were subsumed the more prominent of the ethnic groups. Below them came the enslaveable liquor-drinking castes (masinya matawali jat), which included all the other less prominent and economically backward ethnic groups. The two other categories coming at the bottom of the vertical ladder are made up of the low unclean Hindu castes, with whom social intercourse of any sort is prohibited, but those relating to sharing of water, food, and having sexual contacts with their women by members of the upper three categories, are an absolute taboo (Höfer, 1979). These two categories of people are those from whom water may not be accepted (by upper castes), but whose bodily touch will not require any ritual purification (pani na chalne chhoi chito halnu na parne) and those whose water may not be accepted and with whom any bodily touch would require having a ritual purification (pani na chalne chhoi chito halnu parne), in other words, the untouchable castes. Most service castes of Nepal from whom the high castes demand all sorts of ritual and economic services in their daily lives are found concentrated in these two lowest categories.

The above is mainly the history and culture of the people of Nepal Valley, who, after their absorption into a new political entity in 1768-69 A.D., became reduced to a distinct ethnic group called the Newars. Their integration into the vertical social order of the Legal Code of 1854 A.D. was done by taking into cognition just one of the traits of their cultural life, while ignoring the others. The use of liquor in the ritual life of the Newar even among their high-castes has been made the basis for lumping them in the social category of the liquor-drinking ethnic groups. Except perhaps this one similarity, there is otherwise nothing in common in the cultural life-style of the various ethnic groups and the Newars. The Newar society is far from being an egalita-

rain society, nor is it a society having no notion of a caste hierarchy in it. On the contrary, it is riddled with all sorts of divisions within its social organisation. In fact, the earliest documented caste organisation of Nepal comes from Kathmandu Valley at the time of Jayasthiti-malla in the late 14th century A.D. Notwithstanding, however, the position of law as stated in the Muluki Ain, the Newars are accorded a better social prestige at the actual inter-personal levels of relationship by the hill Hindus, as far as their higher castes are concerned.

The social outlook discussed above is largely a Hindu perspective of Nepal's hills endorsed by their Muluki Ain, i.e. the Legal Code. In a state where the Hindu monarchical system has been so predominant in its history, the perspective that members of the various ethnic groups had of the total Nepali society, on the one hand, and of themselves and their position in it, on the other, is not easy to guess. These people would certainly see many significant variations prevailing in their own society in many respects from that of the Hindus. Their society, does not, for instance, have the notion of any ranking or a ritually high-low concept to distinguish their own people. But, when on occasions, they needed to relate themselves with people outside their groups, the notion of a hierarchy could not possibly be ignored even by them. They could not, for example, ignore to acknowledge the unquestioned superiority of the Brahman's caste, because his high social status was proclaimed and protected by the state in its law throughout their territory. They would similarly probably not treat the untouchable service castes of the Hindus any differently from that meted out to them by the latter. Except at such times, at other times, they would perhaps remain occupied with their own community affairs, behave much as independent and autonomous groups, and participate in their cultural lives freely and without fear of obstruction from the side of the law.

Thus, as a result of contact made by the immigrant Hindus from the south and the west with diverse Tibeto-Burman-speaking ethnic groups of the Nepal Himalayas, a series of social acculturations seems to have been produced in the cultures of these groups. As part of this process, the Hindu orthodoxy seems to have relaxed some of its rules relating to inter-marriage of Hindu high-castes with women of the ethnic groups, allowed widow remarriage more easily, and made easy rules of divorce for women even among the high castes except for the Brahmans. Similarly, acculturation process seems to have drawn the ethnic groups living outside the cultural pale of Hinduism towards the Hindu folds in large numbers in terms of their language, dress, belief, and other mannerisms in their daily lives. Such a process has been variously termed as Sanskritization, Hinduization or even Nepalisation. In the larger context of nation-building, Sanskritization may have made some very useful contributions in forging the people of Nepal's diverse cultures together. Some of the castes like the Chhetris' is no doubt a result of this unique synthesis. The role of Sanskritization in Nepal has been explained by Rishikesh Shah (Sharma, 1974), which seems to me to sum up the true merit of this process. He says: "It (Sanskritization) harmonised behaviour and value patterns to the point of making rationalised

interaction between various groups possible (in the past). It might also be pointed out here that although some of the aspects of Sanskritization may be altogether at variance with the modernist outlook, the experience and knowledge of the working of the Sanskritization process may be profitably applied to the task of modernization ... Sanskritization was at one time seen as essentially elevating and civilising. So, too, is modernisation." (pp. 74).

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## The Effect of High Altitude on Fecundity and Fertility in the Himalayas: Myths and Realities

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### Introduction

High altitude ecozones are among the most extreme environments to which human populations have adapted. Of the several physiological stresses encountered at high altitude, the pervasive influence of hypoxia (the low atmosphere partial pressure of oxygen) has engendered widespread interest. Traditional cultural mechanisms do not ameliorate the low partial pressure of oxygen found at high altitude and the consequent problem of delivering adequate oxygen to the tissues. Because of this, human biocultural adaptation to high altitude has long been a topic of considerable research importance.

This paper reexamines one well-known facet of the body of research on high altitude hypoxia, the effect of high altitude on fertility and fecundity. This has been a topic of interest since the Spanish Conquest of the Andes where the Spaniards became acutely aware of the symptoms of altitude sickness and, in particular, the reproductive difficulties experienced by Spanish women and animals at high altitude in Latin America. For example, in the Imperial city of Potosi (4000m) in Bolivia, all children born of Spanish parents died either at birth or within a fortnight and it was not until 53 years had passed that a European successfully gave birth to an infant who survived to baptismal age of 3 days.

Extensive experimental work with animals has reported the presence of an altitude effect on fecundity (the physiological capacity to bear children), and fertility (the actual number of children born) (Clegg 1981). Similarly, systematic studies of high and low altitude Andean populations were conducted to test the hypothesis that high altitude hypoxia reduces fecundity in chronically exposed human populations. However, since it is extremely difficult to measure fecundity directly in a "field" situation (i.e., outside of a laboratory), most studies have instead measured the fertility of high altitude natives under the

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assumption that in populations not consciously controlling fertility, differences in fertility reflect differences in fecundity. From these studies it has been widely reported in research reports and secondary textbooks that high altitude has a depressing effect on fecundity and fertility (Abelson 1972; Abelson et al. 1974; Hoff and Abelson 1976; Clegg 1981; Little 1981). As Hoff and Abelson (Ibid.: 144) wrote:

"Hypoxia, which acts to reduce fecundity, appears to be the major component of reduced fertility at high altitude."

Although the initial research on human reproduction and altitude was conducted in the Andes, Himalayan native populations were eventually examined to provide comparative data.

The first serious research on the fertility of high altitude Himalayan populations was conducted in 1970-71 among the Sherpas of the Khumbu area of Eastern Nepal (see Fig. 1) (Weitz et al. 1978). Residing at altitudes of over 3500m, these Sherpas are the descendants of Tibetans who migrated to the area some three to four hundred years ago (Haimendorf 1864). They still speak a dialect of Tibetan and adhere to Tibetan Buddhism. A very low fertility was reported for this group, namely a completed family size (completed fertility ratio-CFR) of 4.8 for all women aged 50 or older. That is to say, all women over 49 years of age were reported to have borne on the average 4.8 births. This level of fertility is extremely low for a population which claimed not to be using contraception. These findings were consistent with informal observations of very low fertility among Tibetans in Chinghai Province, China and claims for a declining Tibetan population (Ekvall 1972).

A second fertility survey conducted with the same populations of Sherpas in Khumbu reported an even lower completed fertility ratio (CFR<sub>45+</sub>) of 4.5 births for all married women aged 45 or over (Gupta 1980). This figure would be even lower if, as in the case of Weitz et al., all women, married and unmarried were included. This low fertility was compared with data collected from Sherpas living at low altitude (900-1800m) in the Kalimpong area of India where a significantly higher CFR<sub>45+</sub> of 7.4 was reported. The study concluded that

there is a suggestion of reduced fertility in the high altitude sample in several of the measures employed. Besides the significant reduction in the mean completed family size and the number of live births per married women, trends in the same direction are seen in the number of live births per mother over 30, the average number of live births, and the total fertility rate. ... Our findings agree with those obtained in the Andean studies, in which, while mortality does not seem to be related to altitude, fecundity in general shows a negative relationship (Ibid.: 113).

A third study compared Sherpas at high altitude (using the Gupta and Weitz CFR figures) with four Sherpa populations living at moderate altitude (2200m-2600m) (Bangham and Sacherer 1980). It reports a "much higher completed fertility rate" ( $CFR_{45+} = 7.8$ ) at moderate altitude and states that the low fertility of Khumbu "is mostly attributable to lower fecundity." (Ibid.: 323).

Research conducted with other high altitude Himalayan populations subsequent to the Sherpa studies produced very different results. We shall first present this newer and contradictory evidence, examine the reasons underlying the different results, and then critique the validity of the Sherpa studies.

Goldstein (1981a,b) presented demographic data from Tsang village (3900m) in Limi, a remote high altitude Tibetan speaking valley in Humla District, N.W. Nepal on the Tibeto-Nepalese border. Based on field research conducted in 1974, 1976 and 1977, and based on the entire population rather than a sample, a  $CFR_{45+}$  of 7.4 was reported for married females. This CFR is significantly higher than that reported for the Sherpas by either Gupta or Weitz et al. ( $p < 0.05$ ).

In these studies, it was argued (Goldstein, Ibid.) that the low fertility of the Khumbu Sherpas is not typical of high altitude Tibetan populations and, after comparing Limi with other Tibetan populations living at moderate altitude in the Himalayas, it was suggested that contrary to common belief, Tibetan populations generally have moderately high fertility. Thus, at one point in time, there was completely contradictory evidence from two high altitude Himalayan study areas.

The papers of Goldstein emphasized the importance of taking account of the manner in which socio-cultural factors act to reduce fertility, particularly the impact of mating systems such as fraternal polyandry, the marital union wherein two brothers share one wife. Fraternal polyandry was shown to relegate a substantial proportion of females to a life outside marital union and therein markedly reduced overall fertility (Goldstein 1976). In Limi, 19% of the females over 45 were unmarried and had a CFR of 1.8 versus 7.4 for married females of the same age (Goldstein 1981b). Because of this, the overall  $CFR_{45+}$  was only 6.3.

Given this, it is obvious that as more females are relegated to the status of never-married and therein excluded from regular or frequent sexual intercourse, the population CFR will decrease. The importance of considering socio-cultural factors which might produce such an effect cannot be overemphasized. The initial series of papers were testing the hypothesis that high altitude hypoxia, a physical environmental stress which cannot be mediated by cultural means, acts to reduce fecundity as measured by fertility. It is, therefore, essential to control for other non-biological confounding factors such as exclusion from exposure to intercourse (Davis and Blake 1956) so as to isolate the effects of altitude alone. Any socio-cultural factor that lowers fertility will artificially mask real fecundity levels leaving the erroneous impression that



the low fertility observed is reflective of underlying low fecundity. The Limi data mentioned above demonstrate a difference of over one birth between the CFR<sub>45+</sub> for "all women" and for only "married" women (i.e. for women at risk).

But even grouping females into the categories "ever" and "never" married may be inadequate because the category of "ever-married" can include females who have not been exposed to the risk of intercourse for a substantial portion of their reproductive years. For example, in many Tibetan groups it is not uncommon for some females to marry early but then get divorced after a year or two and remain unmarried for the rest of their lives. Since these females at best have only one or two children, when they are included with "ever-married" females the overall fertility rate drops. Similarly, among groups where widows do not remarry, fertility of "ever-married women" can be substantially reduced (Ross 1981). While intra-marital type factors were not relevant in the Limi analysis, their importance will be seen below in the Ladakh data.

Thus, in order to investigate the effect of hypoxia on fecundity (as measured by fertility), comparable "controlled" samples must be established in each population. In other words, women similarly exposed to the risk of intercourse (and thus conception) must be examined. This, as will be demonstrated below, can be done by controlling for factors such as age at first marriage (union) and by focussing on the CFR of what we call "fully married" women, i.e. women who have been exposed to the risk of conception for almost all of their biological reproductive span, given, of course, the normal age at first marriage. By focussing on such a category of women we avoid the possibility that two populations exhibiting very different CFRs do so because they contain very different proportions of women with reduced fertility. We shall refer to this measure as CFR-FM.

Demographic research that attempts to isolate the effects of social factors on reproduction, however, is complicated by other pitfalls. Depending on the society, it may be very difficult to accurately assess these confounding factors since peasants are often suspicious of strangers asking personal questions and since many of the statuses associated with reduced reproduction such as "divorced" carry pejorative connotations which may motivate subjects to conceal their "lower" status. Consequently, it is methodologically essential to go beyond a simple one-time interview schedule and utilize intensive community based research in which the investigator resides in the community for an extended period of time and develops rapport and mechanisms for cross-checking census information (Chen and Murray 1976; Campbell et al. 1979). This checking and rechecking is necessary not only for the demographic vital statistics (e.g. births, deaths), but also for the critical socio-marital history of females in the study.

Utilizing this perspective, this paper expands the corpus of Himalayan high altitude fertility data by presenting new demographic information collected by Goldstein and Tsarong in Ladakh, a high altitude Tibetan speaking district of Jammu-Kashmir State in India.

## The Demographic Structure of Kyilung Village, Ladakh

### Location and Methods

The demographic data presented below were collected during the course of a 16 month period from May 1980 to September 1981 as part of a larger study on the socio-cultural and economic organization of monasticism in the area.

Kyilung is a high altitude valley laid out along both sides of a tributary of the Indus River which is located near Leh, the capital of Ladakh. The lowest part of the valley is about 3560m in altitude and the highest section of the village is about 4085m although animals are herded and maintained for part of the summer at altitudes up to almost 4950m. The village contains 214 households and over 1000 persons belonging to two different ethnic groups: Buddhists (the original inhabitants) and Muslims (who began to settle there hundreds of years ago and who themselves are divided between Kashmiris and Baltis). For all practical purposes, the Buddhists are endogamous although the Muslims do sometimes take Buddhist brides. Thirty one percent of the households are Muslim and 69% Buddhist. All inhabitants speak Ladakhi, a Tibetan dialect, although the Buddhists write this with the traditional Tibetan orthography whereas the Muslims use the Urdu script.

During the summer of 1980 a household census was collected by a local research assistant. At that time reliable information could not be collected for some questions, e.g., the number of deceased children. Over the next year, as rapport developed, a second household census-fertility survey of the entire village (i.e. not a sample) was conducted by the investigators with the assistance of a locally born monk from the Kyilung monastery. Although women often became tearful when talking about their dead children, very detailed data were collected. At this point preliminary analysis was made and questionable items, e.g., women who reported low or no births, were checked by reinterviewing subjects and via conversations with relatives, neighbours and knowledgeable local monks. Similarly, the marital-demographic history of each household in the village was discussed with key informants to ascertain unusual marriage patterns that might affect fertility levels.

Using this methodology, a number of very serious errors among the initial reports were discovered, e.g., an older female who reported only one or two births but in fact had borne more children. However, she had divorced and had left the children with the husband. We also found several women who had married late (in their mid-thirties) and had not, therefore, been exposed to the risk of conception for the same length of time as had other "normally" married females. Thus, care was taken to identify and classify women whose reproductively active years had been constrained by cultural factors that lessened their exposure to the risk of conception. Ten different "socio-marital reproductive types" of women aged 45+ were abstracted on the basis of relevance to the issue of reduced risk of conception and these in turn were aggregated into three categories: fully married, never married, and reduced fertility.

A. "Fully Married"

- 1) Women who married at or before 24 are still married, and have had no intervening divorce. These women have had maximal exposure to risk of conception in this society.
- 1A) Women recently deceased (within past 5 years) but whose age at death was 45+ and whose marital status was category No. 1. Their fertility data were reported by a spouse and cross-checked with siblings, relatives, offspring, and neighbours.
- 2) Women who married at or before the age of 24, were widowed, but only late in life after the age of 40. Their exposure to risk of conception was reduced for only a small proportion of their reproductively active years.
- 3) Women married at or before the age of 24 who had been divorced early but had remarried within a few years. Exposure to the risk of conception was reduced for only a small portion of their reproductive span.

B. "Never Married"

- 4) Women who never married. These females represent the category with the greatest loss of reproductive potential since they were never in a culturally sanctioned marriage union. While sexual activity is certainly not limited to sanctioned marriage unions and these women do have children, exposure to sexual intercourse is restricted and their fertility is low.
- 5) Women who married at or before 24 years of age but divorced after a year or two and then remained unmarried.

C. "Reduced Fertility"

- 6) Women who married at or before 24 years of age but widowed early, before 33.
- 7) Women who married late in life, after 33.
- 8) Women who divorced early and remarried only late in life, after 33.
- 9) Women who divorced late in life (after 33) and did not remarry.
- 10) Women who were widowed late in life (over 40), but who were also married late in life (in their 30's).

Throughout this research, ages were collected using the traditional 60 year Tibetan "animal-element year" system which allows translation to the Western Calendar with an error of only  $\pm 0.5$  years.

### Kyilung Fertility

Table 1 presents fertility data as measured by the average number of births for the entire female population of Kyilung village that is over 40 years of age. Completed fertility for all women 45-69 (married, never-married, etc.) is 6.1. However, when the potentially confounding social factors are taken into account, a different picture emerges.

Table 1 also illustrates the considerable difference in fertility associated with the different socio-marital reproductive categories. Since the amount of this reduction in categories Nos. 2 and 3 is only slight, we have grouped them together with categories 1 and 1A to form the larger category termed "fully" married women.

We divided the remaining categories into two groups: a category of "never-married women" (Nos. 4 and 5) and a category of women with reduced exposure (Nos. 6-10). When the data are aggregated in this manner, the CFR<sub>45+</sub> for "fully" married women (Nos. 1-3) is 6.6, while the CFR<sub>45+</sub> is only 2.0 for "unmarried women" (Nos. 4 and 5) and 3.9 for women with "reduced fertility" (No. 6-10).

Given the tremendous disparity in fertility associated with differential exposure to the risk of conception, the ideal technique to control for this critical factor would be to calculate for each woman the precise number of years "at-risk" and the part of the reproductive span when these "at-risk" and the part of the reproductive span when these "at-risk" years occurred. With this, any two populations, regardless of social practices, could be compared with respect to the number of births in relation to the number of years "at-risk". However, this level of detail was not possible and a less precise, but still highly effective and accurate strategy was developed which isolates and focusses on the group of women who have not experienced substantial loss of reproductive time, i.e. the category of fully married women. By focussing on this category, we are able to control for the confounding effect of reduced exposure to the risk of pregnancy and thus make fertility levels reflect fecundity more closely. It also allows us to construct and analyse comparable samples in populations having different social practices and patterns. The CFR-CM<sub>45-69</sub> of these "fully" married females in Kyilung (6.6) is not significantly different from the CFR<sub>45+</sub> 7.4 of the equivalent fully married Limi females (ANOVA,  $P > 0.05$ ).

Table 1 also indicates that there is a substantial difference in fertility between Muslims and Buddhists in all age categories over the age of 40. For married females 45-69, the 0.8 difference in fertility (6.4 versus 7.2) is not statistically significant ( $P > 0.05$ ). However, Table 1 further demonstrates a basic difference in the marital patterns of Buddhists and Muslims. Muslim women lose virtually no time because of exclusion from exposure to the risk of intercourse i.e., all women are in the "fully married" category. Because of this, the difference in fertility between Buddhists and Muslims (the CFR<sub>45-69</sub>) roughly doubles to 1.5 births (5.7 to 7.2) when all females 45-69 are considered. This difference is statistically significant (t test,  $P > 0.05$ ).

Table 2 compares the Kyilung fertility data with that of Khumbu and Limi. It illustrates the relatively high completed fertility of "fully" married females in both Limi and Kyilung (7.4 and 6.6) in contrast to that reported for Khumbu CFR (4.5). Gupta's CFR<sub>45+</sub> of 4.5 is over two births lower per married female than Kyilung, and almost three births lower than Limi.

The statistical significance of these differences was tested utilizing ANOVA and the Student-Neuman-Keuls Multiple Range Test (SNK). The Student Neuman Keuls Test determines both the presence of statistically significant differences between a multiplicity of populations and the precise point where this difference exists, e.g., which populations are significantly different (Sokol and Rohlf 1969; Zar 1974).

A special interactive computer programme was written in Fortran for this study.<sup>2</sup> This program requires only means, standard deviations and sample sizes for input and first computes an analysis of variance (ANOVA). If the ANOVA test reveals statistically significant differences, then the programme branches into the Student-Neuman-Keuls procedure to pinpoint where the differences exist.

The SNK Test was used to compare the CFRs of married women from Limi, Kyilung Buddhist, Kyilung Muslim and Khumbu.<sup>3</sup> The ANOVA test showed a significant difference among these means ( $P < 0.05$ ) and the SNK Test showed that the Sherpa CFRs (Gupta's 1978; Weitz et al; 1978) are not consistent with data from the other high altitude populations, i.e., they are significantly lower.

Thus, while on the one hand there is a very strong concordance between the Gupta and Weitz et al. data for Sherpa of Khumbu, there is also an equally strong concordance between the Limi and Kyilung data and a statistical difference between the two sets (Limi-Kyilung versus Khumbu). Although it is possible that there is some very different biological pattern underlying this difference, we contend that this discrepancy is not the result of environmental-biological differences (e.g. hypoxia, hypothyroidism) but rather is the result of analytical and methodological shortcomings in the Sherpa materials. In particular, the Sherpa studies did not systematically take into account the possibility that women in their sample had been excluded from the risk of conception (i.e. from sexual intercourse) for substantial amounts of their reproductive period due to social and cultural factors. Thus the low fertility of high altitude Sherpas vis-a-vis Limi and Ladakh is argued to be an artifact of the social determinants of fertility not underlying fecundity.

Let us briefly examine the problems inherent in these Sherpa data. Gupta (1978) conducted a fertility survey in Khumbu and Kalimpong sometime in the early to mid-1970's. The data from this survey, however, are very suspect. Table 5 lists the number of live births by the age of married women. For Khumbu women aged 45-49, a CFR of 5.7 is cited. But for those aged 50-54 a CFR of is reported and for those aged 55 and



over, a CFR of only 3.3, a figure over two births lower than the CFR for women aged 45-49. This strongly suggests that the overall low CFR of 4.5 is the result of underreporting of births by the older women in his sample due either to faulty memory or outright informant misinformation. If this very low fertility for older women reflects some idiosyncratic historical process or event affecting the older women, it is not discussed in the paper.

Moreover, the sample size of the study is very small and papers not to have been selected by a random or systematic sampling method. For example, the study is based on 14 Khumbu women 50 years and over (Gupta 1978, Table 5). Weitz et al. (1978) however, in their Table 1, list the total Khumbu area as having 260 women over the age of 50. Given the figure, the Gupta sample comprises only 5% of the total women over 50 and thus even less of the total women over 45. With this very small and non-random sample, his CFR figures are unlikely to be representative of the total Khumbu population. Furthermore, his sample apparently does not exclude Tibetan refugees who fled from Tibet and settled in Khumbu in the early 60's.

Research among Tibetan refugees in Pokhara and Kathmandu (Nepal) suggested that among Tibetan refugees there are a disproportionate number of nulliparous and low-fertility females. On questioning, these Tibetan refugees corroborated this indicating that families with many children, particularly young ones, disproportionately decided to remain behind in Tibet. The difficulties of the flight to exile and the belief that their exile would be short as it had been earlier in this century, kept many females with large families in Tibet. The Tibetan refugees, therefore, represent a skewed sample and should have been excluded (or separated out) from the analysis (Goldstein 1981a,b).

Finally, and most critically, the Gupta study made no attempt to take into account varying exposure to the risk of intercourse within the category of ever-married women. For example, there is no differentiation between "ever-married" women and "ever-married" women who widowed early or divorced early and never remarried.

The low altitude Kalimpong Sherpa data reported in this study are also seriously flawed. The study does not indicate when or from where these migrants came and the CFR data reported again are inconsistent. For example, while the CFR<sub>45+</sub> is 7.4, the CFR<sub>40-44</sub> is only 5.4. It is highly improbable that Kalimpong women on the average had 2 births during the 5 year age interval 40-44 but less than 1 birth during each of the two immediately prior 5 year intervals (age 30-34 and 35-39). Moreover, they only averaged 1.5 births during the 25-29 year age interval (Gupta 1980: 109).

The data reported by Weitz et al. study are also problematic. First, this study lumped Tibetan refugees with indigenous Sherpas. When Professor Weitz very kindly recalculated his figures eliminating the refugees, the CFR<sub>50+</sub> for all women increased from the original 4.8 to 5.2 (Weitz personal communication, 1980).

But a  $CFR_{50+}$  of 5.2 was still very low relative to the CFRs reported for Limi and Kyilung and the question of how to account for this anomalously low fertility still remained.

Weitz has argued for both a hypoxic effect and a further social and biological effect which reduced Khumbu fertility even lower than that of high-altitude native Andean populations, e.g.:

... both fertility and birth weights appear to be lower at high altitudes.

Although reduced, fertility in the altiplano (Andes) is still high. Completed family size ... average 6.7 births in Nunoa (Peru) similar in other areas of the altiplano. In comparison, completed family size in one well-studied area of low-altitude Peru was 8.3.

Sherpa fertility is much lower -- completed family size is about 5.1. Part of the difference (between this and the Nunooan CFR) may be explained by various cultural factors that seem to lower Sherpa fertility. In the past, low iodine intake caused ... hypothyroidism, which is known to result in an extremely high level of spontaneous abortions (thus lowering the no. births). (Weitz 1981b, 1982).

We contend that if exclusion from exposure to intercourse were taken into account and a comparable category of "fully married" Sherpa women constructed, Khumbu Sherpa fertility would not be unusually low, i.e. when a Khumbu Sherpa sample population roughly approximating the Limi and Kyilung "fully married" samples is isolated, Sherpa fertility is equivalent to that of Limi and Kyilung.

However, the data reported in Weitz et al. does not directly permit such recalculation. First, as indicated earlier, the low fertility Tibetan refugees are included with Sherpas in all calculations. Second, there is no breakdown of women in the sample by virtue of present and past marital status (e.g. divorced, widowed, separated) or even a clear ever-married/never-married dichotomy. Third, no fertility figures are presented for "ever" and "never" married women as distinct categories. Instead the data are presented only with reference to socio-economic categories (higher and lower) and degree of village acculturation. However, because these socio-economic categories and village types contain different but unspecified proportions of Tibetan refugees, it is not possible to recalculate the data to construct a category of "fully married women" or even "ever-married" women. However, there is evidence suggesting that when a category of "fully married" women is constructed, it will show relatively high fertility. For example, this study cited a  $CFR_{50+}$  of 6.2 for married females in the higher socio-economic category, i.e., for the socio-economic category that included fewest Tibetan refugees.

Recently, Professor Weitz has reorganized the Khumbu data to segregate out Tibetan refugees and take into account different types of marital statuses (Weitz personal communication, 1981c). Sherpa females were divided into 7 marital categories: never-married; monogamous marriages; 1 marriage, widowed; 1 marriage, separated; serial monogamy; polyandrous marriages; and polygamous marriages. While this goes a long way toward addressing the issue of social exclusion from the risk of intercourse and thus conception, it still does not take into account reduced fertility within marital categories, e.g. monogamous women who married only later in life. Nonetheless, the new breakdown provides additional insight into what Khumbu Sherpa completed fertility would be if a "fully married" category could be constructed. For example, the CFR<sub>50+</sub> for Sherpa women married monogamously of 6.5, a figure almost identical to that of Kyilung Buddhists (Ibid.). When we calculated a weighted CFR<sub>50+</sub> for a composite category consisting of monogamously, polyandrously and polygynously married women (weighting for proportion of total population) we computed a CFR<sub>50+</sub> of 6.3. We strongly suggest that in-depth anthropological research on family and marital history would increase this already relatively high CFR even further (as demonstrated in the Kyilung analysis) by identifying and excluding females within the marital types who have had reduced exposure to the risk of intercourse and thus conception.

When these new CFRs of 6.3 and 6.5 were compared with the CFRs of Limi and Kyilung, the initial statistically significant difference mentioned earlier (associated with the 4.8 figure) vanishes ( $P > 0.05$ ). And when the CFRs of all of these are then compared (using the Student Newman Keuls Multiple Range Test) with Gupta's 4.5 CFR<sub>45+</sub>, Gupta's figure is statistically different from the others [Khumbu (Gupta) < Khumbu (recalculated Weitz) = Kyilung (Buddhist) = Kyilung (Muslim) = Limi]<sup>2</sup>. In other words, when even a roughly comparable sub-sample of Khumbu females was isolated which excluded all Tibetan refugees and women who have been divorced, widowed, never-married, etc., Khumbu fertility is not statistically different from that of the other high altitude Himalayan populations studied by Goldstein.

In the end, then, the unusually low fertility reported for high altitude Sherpas (Weitz et al. and Gupta) and utilized by Bangham and Sacherer does not reflect low fecundity produced by high altitude hypoxia or other biological-environmental factors such as hypothyroidism. Rather it reflects a failure of these studies to control for critical confounding factors affecting fertility.

#### A Comparison of the Fertility of High and Low Altitude Himalayan Populations

While the issue of the anomalously low fertility reported for the Khumbu Sherpas appears to be resolved, the more fundamental issue of whether the fertility (and, of course, fecundity) of these high altitude Himalayan populations is significantly different from that of low and moderate altitude Himalayan populations must be examined. As indicated

earlier, both Bangham and Sacherer and Gupta have concluded that there is a significant difference in fertility between low and high altitude Himalayan populations that is caused by hypoxia produced low fecundity at high altitude.

The serious shortcomings of Gupta's high and low altitude data have been discussed above. The Bangham and Sacherer study suffers from equally fundamental shortcomings. Their sample of 75 women comes from 15 moderate altitude Sherpa villages in Helambu, Solu and the Upper Arun River (see Fig. 1) located at altitudes between 2200m and 2600m. As indicated in Table 3, they report a CFR<sub>45+</sub> of 7.6 for Helambu, 8.5 for Solu-Arun, and 5.3 for Kagate (a sub-population in Solu comprising migrants from Helambu). The joint CFR<sub>45+</sub> for these three populations is 7.8, a figure they report to be significantly different from the completed fertility of the high altitude Khumbu Sherpas (using the 4.5 and 4.8 CFRs). However, because of the size and character of the samples and the methods of data collection, the findings reported cannot be considered valid.

This study indicated that villages were visited for only a few days and interviews were conducted with whomever came to see them and would cooperate (Bangham 1978). In no case was the size of the total universe from which their sample came indicated and it is, therefore, impossible to determine the percent of the total that their sample represents. However, we know it must be extremely small because it averages out to less than 5 women per village studied. Because these five women were not selected by any random or systematic methodology (i.e. were self-selected) their reported data cannot be treated as representative of the larger populations. In fact, in one of their sites (Kagate), the entire sample of women aged 45+ consisted of only 4 individuals.

These very serious shortcomings are compounded by the fact that the misleadingly low fertility figures cited by Gupta (4.5) and Weitz et al. (4.8) are used for the high altitude contrast population. Thus, the finding of a statistically significant difference between high and moderate altitude Sherpas has no validity. In fact, when our recalculation of Weitz's marital fertility (6.3) is used for the high altitude Sherpa population, there is no statistically significant difference between the CFR reported by Bangham and Sacherer for the low altitude Sherpas (7.8) and the CFRs of Limi, Kyilung (Buddhist and Muslim) and Khumbu ( $P > 0.05$ ).

Nonetheless, this does not mean that valid comparisons of fertility cannot be made across altitude zones in the Himalayas. To the contrary, a number of new and excellent cultural-demographic in-depth studies make such a comparison feasible.

Before discussing these, a comment must be made on how we shall operationally define "altitude" in this paper. It has been suggested that 2500m be used to demarcate high altitude since altitudes above that are required to produce evidence of hypoxic stress (Baker 1978).

We do not disagree with this but suggest that since there is a continuum of decreasing partial pressure of oxygen ( $pO_2$ ) along an increasing altitude gradient, a tripartate division into "high", "moderate", and "low" altitude is more efficacious since a hypoxic effect on fecundity may only be measurable at very high altitudes or may operate differently at moderate and high altitude. We shall use 3400m for the beginning of our high altitude zone and 2000m for the moderate altitude zone. Table 3 presents the currently available fertility data for the Himalayas.

Ross (1981) conducted an 18 month indepth, cultural-demographic study of two contiguous villages at "moderate altitude", one Hindu (2300m) and one Tibetan (2500m), in Humla, a remote district in N.W. Nepal. This study reported a  $CFR_{45+}$  for all Tibetan females of 6.0, and a  $CFR_{45+}$  of 6.7 for ever-married females. However, when women were widowed before the age of 45 are excluded, the  $CFR$  increases to 7.0. A parallel effect is reported for the Hindu populations. Here the  $CFR_{45+}$  for ever-married is 6.2 (all females were ever-married). This increases to 7.4 when women widowed before the age of 45 are eliminated.

Another detailed long-term cultural-demographic study was conducted by Folmar (ms) in 1979-80 in the low altitude Nepalese hill village of Ghachok (1400m) located north of Polhara. It reported a relatively low  $CFR_{45+}$  of 5.5 for ever-married Caste Hindu women. However, when he excluded all women widowed before the age of 45 from the computation, the  $CFR_{45+}$  increased to 6.7. When he further excluded women who married after the age of 25 ( $\bar{X} + 1$  S.D.), the  $CFR$  increased still further to 7.2.

Several other studies (Macfarlane, Levine, Sacherer), present some demographic data but because it is not possible to isolate a "fully married" category analysis was limited to the Folmar and Ross data. Two techniques were used to test the relationship between the fertility of these high, low and moderate altitude populations. Fig. 2 presents a plot of altitude and  $CFR$  for the populations listed in Table 3 for which "fully married" categories could be constructed. It illustrates clearly the absence of any altitude related pattern. Correlation-regression analysis revealed no significant relationship between altitude and completed fertility rate ( $P > 0.05$ ).

The Student Neuman Keuls Multiple Range Test was also used to compare the  $CFRs$  9 populations in Table 3 for which standard deviations are published (with the exception of Gupta's Khumbu data). It also found no statistically significant difference between the high, moderate and low altitude populations. Further SNK tests excluding first Gupta's data and then Gupta's and Bangham and Sacherer's data were run, but there was still no statistically significant difference between the high, low and moderate altitude populations.

Consequently, while Gupta's and Bangham and Sacherer's findings of a statistically significant difference between low and high altitude populations in the Himalayas were technically correct, they are scientifically invalid due to the nature of the data on which they were based.



TABLE I. Kyilung Fertility by Age, Religion and Socio-Marital Type

| Age   | Religion | Mean no. births for "fully" married women |      |    | Mean no. births for "never-married" women |      |   | Mean no. births for "Reduced fertility" women |      |    | Mean no. births for all women |      |     |
|-------|----------|-------------------------------------------|------|----|-------------------------------------------|------|---|-----------------------------------------------|------|----|-------------------------------|------|-----|
|       |          | Mean                                      | SD   | N  | Mean                                      | SD   | N | Mean                                          | SD   | N  | Mean                          | SD   | N   |
| 60-69 | Buddhist | 6.5                                       | 2.99 | 24 | 5.0                                       | 0.00 | 1 | 6.5                                           | 2.12 | 2  | 6.4                           | 2.86 | 27  |
|       | Muslim   | 7.2                                       | 2.39 | 9  | -                                         | -    | - | -                                             | -    | -  | 7.2                           | 2.39 | 9   |
|       | Both     | 6.7                                       | 2.82 | 33 | -                                         | -    | - | -                                             | -    | -  | 6.6                           | 2.74 | 36  |
| 50-59 | Buddhist | 6.2                                       | 3.15 | 29 | 1.5                                       | 0.71 | 2 | 3.0                                           | 2.0  | 5  | 5.5                           | 3.26 | 36  |
|       | Muslim   | 7.0                                       | 3.58 | 6  | -                                         | -    | - | -                                             | -    | -  | 7.0                           | 3.58 | 6   |
|       | Both     | 6.4                                       | 3.18 | 35 | -                                         | -    | - | -                                             | -    | -  | 5.7                           | 3.31 | 42  |
| 45-49 | Buddhist | 6.4                                       | 2.6  | 17 | 1.5                                       | 1.73 | 1 | 3.8                                           | 2.5  | 4  | 5.2                           | 3.04 | 25  |
|       | Muslim   | 7.2                                       | 2.36 | 14 | -                                         | -    | - | -                                             | -    | -  | 7.2                           | 2.4  | 14  |
|       | Both     | 6.7                                       | 2.49 | 31 | -                                         | -    | - | -                                             | -    | -  | 5.9                           | 2.95 | 39  |
| 45-69 | Buddhist | 6.4                                       | 2.93 | 70 | 2.0                                       | 1.83 | 7 | 3.9                                           | 2.39 | 11 | 5.7                           | 3.09 | 88  |
|       | Muslim   | 7.2                                       | 2.55 | 29 | -                                         | -    | - | -                                             | -    | -  | 7.2                           | 2.55 | 29  |
|       | Both     | 6.6                                       | 2.84 | 99 | 2.0                                       | 1.83 | 7 | 3.9                                           | 2.39 | 11 | 6.1                           | 3.02 | 117 |
| 40-44 | Buddhist | 6.3                                       | 2.55 | 21 | 1.3                                       | 1.21 | 6 | 2.0                                           | 0    | 1  | 5.1                           | 3.11 | 28  |
|       | Muslim   | 7.3                                       | 1.98 | 8  | -                                         | -    | - | -                                             | -    | -  | 7.3                           | 1.98 | 8   |
|       | Both     | 6.6                                       | 2.41 | 29 | -                                         | -    | - | -                                             | -    | -  | 5.6                           | 3.02 | 36  |

TABLE 11  
COMPLETED FERTILITY RATIOS FOR LIMU, KYILUNG AND KHUMBU

| GROUP    | SOURCE               | ALTITUDE | AGE   | CFR<br>MARRIED WOMEN <sup>a</sup> | N  | CFR<br>ALL WOMEN | N   |
|----------|----------------------|----------|-------|-----------------------------------|----|------------------|-----|
| Limu     | Goldstein, 1981      | 3900m    | 45+   | 7.4 (SD 3.16)                     | 17 | 6.3 (SD 3.69)    | 21  |
| Kyilung: |                      |          |       |                                   |    |                  |     |
| Buddhist |                      | 3500m    |       | 6.4 (SD 2.93)                     | 70 | 5.7 (SD 3.09)    | 88  |
| Muslim   |                      | to       | 45-69 | 7.2 (SD 2.55)                     | 29 | 7.2 (SD 2.55)    | 29  |
| Both     |                      | 4000m    |       | 6.6 (SD 2.86)                     | 99 | 6.1 (SD 3.02)    | 117 |
| Khumbu   | Weitz et al.<br>1978 |          | 50+   | -                                 | -  | 4.8 (SD 3.44)    | 110 |
|          | Gupta, 1978,<br>1980 | 3500+m   | 45+   | 4.5 (SD 2.48)                     | 19 | -                | -   |
|          | Weitz 1981c          |          | 50+   | 6.3 (SD NA)                       | 44 | 4.8 (SD 3.44)    | 110 |

<sup>a</sup>All but Gupta's CFR reflect roughly equivalent "fully married" women.

TABLE III  
COMPLETED FERTILITY RATIOS FOR HIMALAYAN POPULATIONS  
RESIDING AT HIGH, MODERATE AND LOW ALTITUDE

|                      | GROUP                | SOURCE                       | ALTITUDE           | ETHNICITY                    | AGE   | CFR FOR<br>MARRIED WOMEN | N  |
|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|-------|--------------------------|----|
| HIGH<br>ALTITUDE     | Limi                 | Goldstein, 1980<br>1981      | 3900m              | Tibetan                      | 45+   | 7.4                      | 17 |
|                      | Kyilung <sub>1</sub> | .                            | 3800m              | Ladakhi-<br>Buddhist         | 45-69 | 6.4                      | 70 |
|                      | Kyilung <sub>2</sub> |                              | 3800m              | Ladakhi-<br>Muslim           | 45-69 | 7.2                      | 29 |
|                      | Khumbu               | Weitz 1981c                  | 3400+m             | Sherpa                       | 50+   | 6.3                      | 44 |
|                      | All of the<br>above  |                              |                    |                              |       | 6.8                      |    |
|                      | Khumbu               | Gupta 1978, 1980             | 3400+m             |                              |       | 4.5                      |    |
| MODERATE<br>ALTITUDE | Dhinga               | Ross 1981                    | 2500m <sup>a</sup> | Tibetan                      | 45+   | 7.0                      | 13 |
|                      | Chaugan              | Ross 1981                    | 2300m              | High Caste<br>Hindu          | 45+   | 7.4                      | 11 |
|                      | Nyinba               | Levine 1977                  | 2900m              | Tibetan                      | 43+   | 6.3                      | 19 |
|                      | Helambu              | Goldstein and<br>Beall       | 2600m              | Sherpa                       | 45+   | 7.2                      | 20 |
|                      | All of the<br>above  |                              |                    |                              |       | 7.0                      |    |
|                      | Solu-Arun            | Bangham and<br>Sacherer 1980 | 2400m              | Sherpa                       | 45+   | 8.5                      | 26 |
|                      | Helambu              | Bangham and<br>Sacherer 1980 | 2600m              | Sherpa                       | 45+   | 7.6                      | 40 |
|                      | Kagate               | Bangham and<br>Sacherer 1980 | 2400m              | Sherpa                       | 45+   | 5.3                      | 4  |
| LOW<br>ALTITUDE      | Ghachok              | Folmar Ms.                   | 1400m              | Hindu-<br>High Caste         | 45+   | 6.9                      | 22 |
|                      | Ghachok              | Folmar Ms.                   | 1400m              | Hindu-<br>Low Caste          | 45+   | 7.4                      | 26 |
|                      | Thak                 | Macfarlane<br>1976           | 1700m              | Tibeto-<br>Burman:<br>Gurung | 40+   | 5.6                      | 12 |
|                      | Mohoriya             | Macfarlane<br>1976           | 1700m              | Tibeto-<br>Burman:<br>Gurung | 40+   | 5.9                      | 18 |
|                      | All of the<br>above  |                              |                    |                              |       | 6.2                      |    |
|                      | Kalimpong<br>(Gupta) | Gupta 1978,<br>1980          | 1400m              | Sherpa                       | 45+   | 7.4                      | 69 |

<sup>a</sup>In cases where villages have a main and summer location, we use the altitude of the main village. In cases where a village or sample is spread out over a substantial altitude gradient, we used the average altitude.

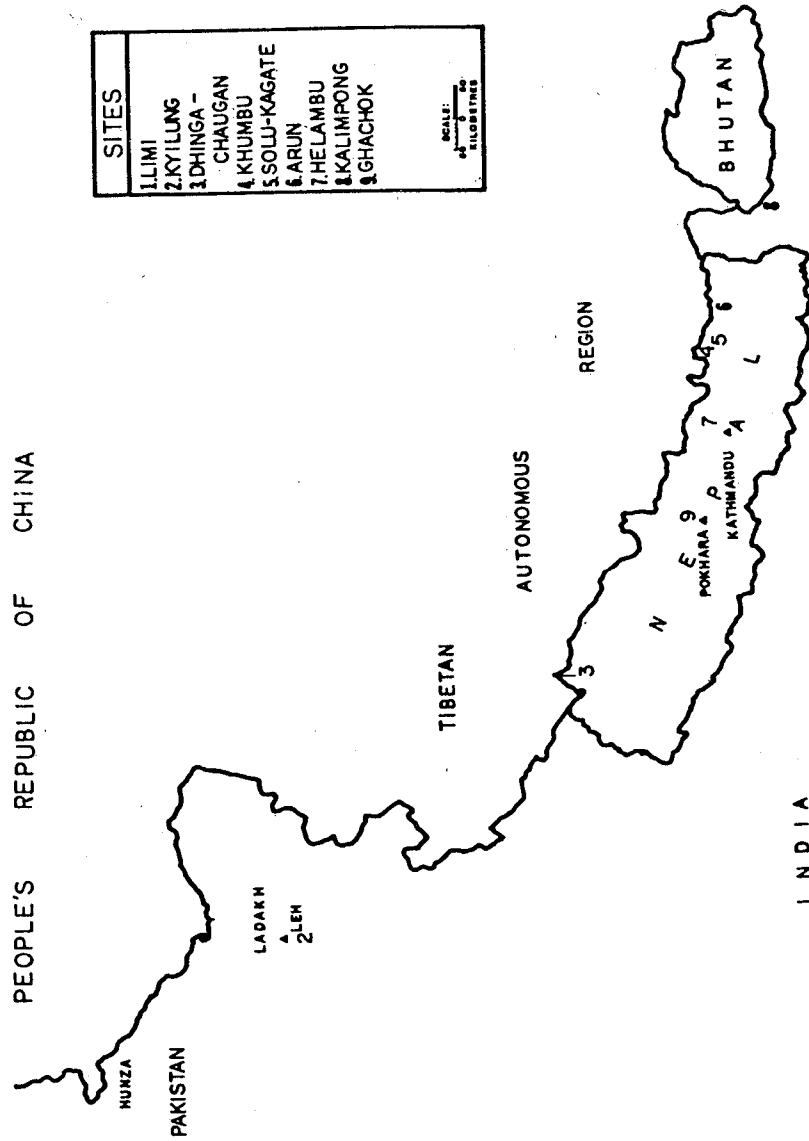


Figure 1: Map of main research sites in the Himalayas.

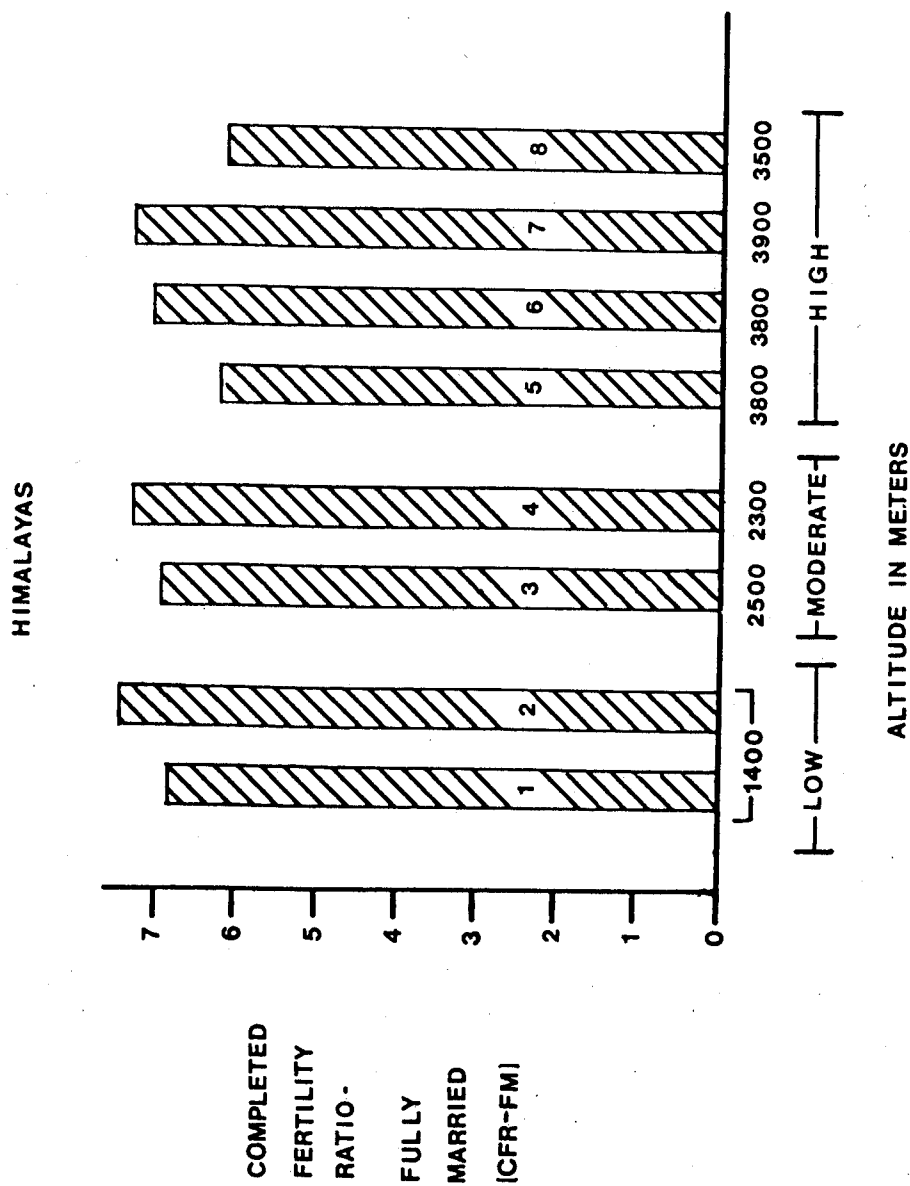


Figure 2: Compares the completed fertility of fully married (CFR-FM) women for eight populations residing at different altitudes in the Nepal and Indian Himalayas. Population 1= Chachok (Nepal), High caste Hindu (Folmar, ms.); population 2= Chachok (Nepal), Low caste Hindu (Folmar ms.); population 3= Dhangra (Nepal), Tibetan (Ross 1981); population 4= Chaugan (Nepal), High caste Hindu (Ross 1981); population 5= Kyilung (Ladakh, India), Ladakhi-Tibetan; population 6= Kyilung (Ladakh, India), Balti Muslim; population 7= Limi (Nepal), Tibetan (Goldstein 1981b); population 8= Khumbu (Nepal), Sherpa-Tibetan (Weitz 1981c).



Using the new cultural-demographic data and the recalculation of existing data, we found that the fertility of high altitude Himalayan women of post-reproduction age is moderately high and is not statistically different from the fertility of women residing at moderate and low altitudes once comparable "controlled" samples are constructed.

### Conclusion

Based on this reexamination of the Himalayan data, it is concluded that the case for the presence of a hypoxic effect acting to reduce fertility and fecundity in long term resident native populations in the Himalayas is scientifically unproven. Of course, this does not imply that such an effect does not exist; it means only that new research taking into account the methodological and conceptual factors discussed in this paper is necessary. To test the effects of altitude on fecundity and fertility, the effects of confounding factors must be controlled. Until this is done, the evidence for a hypoxic effect is primarily anecdotal.

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### NOTES

1. Women over 70 (N=13) have been excluded from these computations because there is very definite evidence that their replies under-report fertility and because it was virtually impossible to obtain corroborative information for them on infant mortality, exclusion from the risk of conception, etc. For example, the self-reported number of births for married women over 70 is 3.9 (SD 3.84), a figure almost 3 births lower than that of married women 45-69. There is no historical event (cohort effect) that would account for this. We believe that this report of untypically low fertility is the result of an under-renumeration of births ending in infant mortality. For example, whereas married women 45-69 reported that 2.2 (N=99) of their births resulted in deaths, the married women 70+ reported only 0.6 (N=10) of their births resulted in death. There was also a higher percentage of nulliparous women in 70+ category, again indicating underreporting of births.
2. A special interactive computer programme was written in Fortran for this study. This programme requires only means, standard deviations and sample sizes for input and first computes an analysis

of variance (ANOVA). If the ANOVA test reveals statistically significant differences, then the programme branches into the Student-Neuman-Keuls procedure to pinpoint where the differences exist. John Blangero, a Ph.D. candidate in physical and medical anthropology in the Department of Anthropology, Case Western Reserve University, wrote the computer programme for the SNK test.

3. The lower CFR of 6.3 was used in his computation. Since Weitz (1981c) did not provide S.D. figures, we used the ones cited in his 1978 paper for the 4.77 and 6.2 CRFs.

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## Adaptation to a Changing Salt Trade: The View from Humla<sup>1</sup>

J.L. Ross\*

Throughout Nepal trans-Himalayan trade is a major economic strategy for many populations, particularly for those inhabiting the northern border areas.<sup>2</sup> Located in the Karnali Zone, the Humla District is situated along an historically important trade route which follows the watershed of the Karnali River and links the lower regions of Nepal and northern India with the plateau regions of western Tibet.

In upper Humla both Tibetan speaking Buddhist and high caste Thakuri and Chhetri Hindu populations have engaged in long-distance trade for several centuries.<sup>3</sup> The traditional rationale of this trade system in western Nepal is simply stated: in the high altitude regions of western Tibet there has been a demand for grains, particularly rice, in exchange for which Tibetan rock salt can be obtained and marketed in the grain rich areas to the south. The differential in exchange ratios of grain to salt between these two regions represents a substantial profit, one which has been realized by the development of an extended trade network and complex schedule of movement of men, animals and commodities.

In the last two decades a combination of political, economic and ecological events have resulted in a reorientation of this trading system. The purpose of this paper is to describe the changes which have occurred and the manner in which Humla traders have adapted to maintain long-distance trade as a viable strategy.

Rock salt, the principal commodity acquired in Tibet, has its source in alkaline lakes to the north of the trade entrepot of Purang. Several alternatives traditionally existed through which Nepali traders could obtain this salt, including the option of travelling directly to the source and mining it after paying a fee to local Tibetan officials. This alternative was most often employed by inhabitants of the Limi valley who had large numbers of yak as well as sheep with which to transport salt.

Generally salt was mined by Tibetan nomads who sold it to Tibetan farmers inhabiting the border area known as Purang. To acquire salt traders from villages along the Humla-Karnali River undertook one or more excursions to Purang (Tibet) between the harvesting of the winter and summer crops (June-October), which coincides with the period that

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the Narala Pass (16,500 feet) linking Humla and Purang is open and free of snow. Although the round-trip distance could be covered in as few as eight days, trips typically took between twelve and twenty days as they also served the purpose of providing summer grazing for the flocks of ovines along the route.

Another traditional source of salt was the trade fairs held in Humla in late October-November. At this time of year Humla traders were reluctant to travel over the Narala Pass as a sudden storm could severely decimate a flock of sheep and goats, but the Purangbas travelled with large numbers of yak capable of negotiating the pass even with a moderate snow cover. These fairs afforded the Purangbas and Limis the opportunity to market stores of salt they had not disposed of the previous summer season. This appears to have ended in 1973 when Purangbas were restricted from attending by the Chinese. Presently these marts are supplied only by the Limis.<sup>4</sup>

Generally these marts are attended by Humla families who are not long-distance traders but who want salt for home consumption. Occasionally a trader who has not acquired sufficient salt to ensure that all his animals will be carrying a full load when they depart for the middle hills will acquire salt at this time.

Regardless of the locus of these exchanges, prices, even within a single season, were by no means constant. Trade was conducted by barter and exchanges of salt and rice made by volume measure. Actual rates of exchange were subject to individual and seasonal variation in the supply and demand of the commodities involved. Often both Hindu and Buddhist Nepalis employed formal-ritualized ties of friendship with local Purangbas to ensure a dependable supply of salt from a reliable source. In return these trade partners were assured grain at minimum rates.

The marketing by Humlis of the salt obtained in Tibet took place, as it does today, during the winter season (October-May) and often involved two trips to areas south of Humla. The first was a limited excursion in terms of distance (12-18 days distance) and duration (4-6 weeks). Only a portion of available carrier animals (sheep and goats) were taken at this time. This occurs in late September or early October and coincides with the completion of the rice harvest in such lower-lying Nepalese Districts as Bajera and Bajung. The trip serves the purpose of both reducing the stores of salt to a level where what remains can be transported with available animals during the second trip, and of obtaining grain to add to the stores for household consumption during the ensuing winter.

The second excursion of the season is generally undertaken within two weeks of returning from the first. At this time all sheep and goats (including ewes and lambs) are taken south. While in Tibet a trader's demand for salt could often be met dealing with one or two Purangbas, consumers in the middle hills exchange only enough grain to acquire the quantity of salt necessary to meet their household requirements. Conse-



quently, salt obtained with a minimum number of transactions required several months and several hundred transactions to dispose of. Thus, this trip takes roughly six to seven months, and its conclusion generally coincides with the commencement of spring planting and the harvesting of winter crops in upper Humla.

This journey takes Humla traders to several lower lying, grain growing districts including Bajhang, Bajura and Achham. The Thakuri traders travel to areas where they not only have established trade contacts, but also ties through marriage. In the past traders would occasionally travel to India via Nepal's western border, but until the 1950s the Nepali terai was a sparsely populated malarial jungle that traders seldom visited.

The schedule followed by traders from upper Humla (which results in the trader and his animals being absent from the village for as much as 8-9 months of every year) provides not only essential pasture for ovines which because of snow cover is not available in Humla, but results in a system of profitable salt-grain exchange.

One to two generations ago in Tibet, one unit of Nepali rice brought between six to ten units of rock salt. In the middle hills, however, one unit of salt could be exchanged for eight units of rice. This trade resulted in substantial profits as the following hypothetical case of a single household engaged in this trade will show.

The cycle begins with the trader taking five animal loads of rice to Purang where, at the minimum rate of six units of salt for one unit of rice, 30 animal loads of salt are obtained in exchange. Upon returning to the village five animal loads are left in the household for consumption the following winter. Three adult members of the household then depart for the middle hills for an extended season with all sheep and goats, 25 of which are carrying Tibetan salt. In the middle hills this salt could be exchanged for as much as eight times its volume in rice. In exchange only for rice, this would be the equivalent of 200 animal loads.

The subsistence requirements of the entire party had to be met from these stores during this period. Consuming only rice daily for a period of six months, a total of 75 animal loads would be removed from the amount received through exchange. This would leave a total of 125 loads of rice to be transported back to Humla at the end of the season. In addition to supporting three adults for a six-month period, this represents a net increase of 2400 percent over the initial amount of five animal loads of rice used to acquire Tibetan salt.

This illustrates the profitability of trans-Himalayan trade one or two generation ago. In the last 15 years the character of the system has changed substantially. Politically the most important event was the Chinese coming to complete political power in 1959 after the Dalai Lama fled to India. By the early 1960s the Chinese presence in Purang was firmly established and new policies were made regarding exchange of commodities between Nepal and Tibet.

The bilateral movement common to the traditional system no longer occurs and only Nepali citizens are allowed to cross the border. Upon arriving in Purang they are no longer allowed to trade with traditional partners or with any private individuals. Under the present system every trader arriving has to proceed to the government trade depot where all salt is stored in large warehouses. At this depot all commodities carried by Nepali traders are weighed (exchange by volume no longer occurs) and for each commodity an exact exchange rate has been established by the government. Traders no longer have an influence upon the exchange rate and the price and availability of salt is determined not so much by free supply and demand as fluctuation in official Chinese policy.<sup>5</sup> When grains have been weighed, a receipt is issued which can then be redeemed for commodities, including salt, of equivalent value. Over the past 15 years official exchange rates have been revalued downward several times which is attributed to a decreasing demand for imported grain as the result of increased productivity in the region. In the trading season of 1976-1977, the maximum rate of exchange in Purang was five units of salt for one unit of rice.

In Nepal, on the other hand, a major ecological development has been the effective eradication of malaria in the terai. As a result, a number of routes have developed via the terai with India over which a large variety of goods originating in India are now transported to markets in the middle hills.

One of these commodities is salt. It is available in almost unlimited quantities and is relatively inexpensive. This has led to a revaluation of the value of salt and the Humlis have had to accept lower rates of exchange in order to remain competitive. At present the two principal commodities have reached parity: today one unit of salt, either Tibetan or Indian, brings one unit of rice in the middle hills.

To illustrate briefly the effects of these changes on trans-Himalayan trade, I will return to an example for which data is available for a recent trading season. In late October this trader and his two adult sons departed Humla for the middle hills with 25 loads of salt obtained in Purang in exchange for five animals loads of rice. Grain was taken from household stores to meet daily requirements for 12-15 days which allowed them to reach the middle hills before exchanging salt for grains.

Previously 25 loads of Tibetan salt were sufficient to conduct an entire season of profitable trading. This is no longer possible. Currently, if only rice were acquired, it would be consumed within 60 days leaving nothing to support the traders for the remaining four months. Consequently, supplies of Tibetan salt are now exchanged not only for rice but also for other grains which are less highly valued, such as corn and millet. For example, one unit of salt will bring two units of corn or millet, and four units of salt will bring five units of wheat. It is these grains, supplemented by rice, that constitute the bulk of the diet of the trader in the middle hills.

But even if the entire supply of salt were traded for grains at the rate of 1:2, it would provide subsistence for only four months. For most Humla traders today the Tibetan salt they carry to the middle hills no longer brings them sufficient grain to support them through the winter. This is due not only to lower rates of exchange but also restrictions on the availability of this commodity at its source.

In order to remain viable and realize a profit the system has been reoriented. The Humla trader now makes several trips to bazaar towns near the north Indian border to acquire Indian salt.<sup>6</sup> There, a large bag of salt equivalent to 10 animal loads can be acquired for Rs. 50/- in cash. The money is generated by selling an older animal for slaughter in the bazaar.

Returning to our example, we can see how this new element increases the profitability of the system. The trader in question made two trips to a border town to purchase Indian salt. He sold one animal for Rs. 260/- and with this cash bought a total of 50 loads of salt. Twenty loads were exchanged for grains which were consumed by the party during the remainder of the season and the remaining salt exchanged for rice. Indian salt is exchanged for rice late in the season as it is from this commodity that the greatest profit can ultimately be realized in Purang since in Humla rice is twice as valuable as other grains. Thus, in late April the trader returned to Humla with 30 loads of rice. This represents an increase of almost 500 percent excluding the sale of one animal, a significant reduction from the profit margin realized not long ago, but still a profitable enterprise.

Despite a substantially reduced profit margin over the last 15 years, long-distance trade continues a popular means of supplementing agricultural production in upper Humla. This is evinced not only by the number of households so engaged (45% of Thakuri households and 73% of Tibetan households in the two villages studied), but also by the fact virtually every household in each community expressed a desire to do so eventually.

The benefits of this activity extend to others in the population as well. In 1976-1977 adults from 12 households were able to find employment with the long-distance traders during the winter season. In return they received their daily food, a set of clothes and the equivalent of Rs. 300/-. This amount is often paid by allowing individuals to select animals from the flock as compensation. This strategy of seasonal employment is often the means by which a household will acquire the animals necessary to engage in trade independently.

For those who are able to engage in this trade the contribution to subsistence is twofold. First is its direct contribution to the amount of grain available in the villages for household consumption. From the 1976-1977 trading season, the Thakuris brought back from the middle hills a total of 780 khal of rice.<sup>7</sup> Of this amount, 219 khal (28 percent) was ultimately carried to Tibet the following season in exchange for salt. This left 559 khal of rice for home consumption within the community, an average of 9 khal per household.

Among the Tibetans during the same season a total of 890 khal of rice were brought back to the community. Of this amount, 133 khal (15 percent) were utilized for trade the following season, leaving a total of 757 khal for household consumption in the community, an average of 21 khal per household. When one considers that the reported production of Thakuri paddy fields during the same season was only 10 khal per household, or that the annual adult male requirement of grain is approximately 13.6 khal, the contribution of this form of production can be appreciated.

A second contribution to the overall welfare of the household is accomplished by removing a number of adult consumers for several months at a time. During the trading season a total of 33 Thakuris and 36 Tibetans were absent from their communities and all their subsistence requirements were met by trading salt for grains in the middle hills. This was in average of three adult Thakuri consumers per trading household, and 2.3 Tibetan consumer per trading household.

It can be seen that despite several political and ecological factors that have impacted on the economics of long-distance trade in the last 15 years, it continues as a viable strategy among the populations of upper Humla. The availability of cheap Indian salt has had an impact, but it has not come to dominate the market and displace Tibetan salt. The revaluation of Tibetan salt has kept it competitive with Indian salt, but as a result Tibetan salt alone may not be sufficient to conduct a profitable trading season.

By reorienting their system of trade to include Indian salt, Humlis have been able to continue to realize a substantial margin of success. This reorientation was reflected in the 1976-1977 season when traders from the two villages transported nearly equivalent amounts of Tibetan salt (2,100 loads) and Indian salt (1,850 loads) to the middle hills in exchange for grains. This successful adaptation to a changing trade system has been essential to the upper Humlis. Agriculture is the most highly valued means of production, but 87 percent of Thakuri households and 49 percent of Tibetan households believed that agricultural production alone was not sufficient to meet their yearly subsistence needs. Among trading household, however, 97 percent were able to meet their annual subsistence needs without pursuing other alternatives such as seasonal migration for wage employment. It is in this light that we can see the continued importance of trans-Himalayan trade as an adaptive strategy.

#### NOTES

1. This paper is the result of research undertaken in Nepal from October 1975 to July 1977. Support was provided in part by a National Science Foundation Dissertation Improvement Grant (BNS 76-00670), and Travel and Research Support Grants from the Graduate Alumni Fund, Case Western Reserve University. I am grateful to His Majesty's Government of Nepal for permission to conduct research in the Humla District and to the Center for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, for their assistance and support while in Nepal.

2. For an extensive overview of trans-Himalayan trade throughout the northern border areas see Fürer-Haimendorf, 1975.
3. For a general discussion of the populations of the Karnali Zone, including Humla, and long-distance trade in western Nepal, see Fürer-Haimendorf, 1975, p. 221-285.
4. In 1972 Fürer-Haimendorf observed Tibetans who had entered Nepal travelling to a trade fair in Humla (1975, p. 251). Since that time bilateral movement has ceased and only Nepali citizens are allowed to cross the border.
5. At the fall trade fair in November 1977 Limis had relatively little salt with which to trade. That summer they had been able to acquire little more than that needed for their own consumption. They were unable to identify a reason for this other than that it was Chinese policy.
6. Mahendranagar, Nepalgunj, Julgart and Surkhet are the towns most frequently visited for this purpose.
7. In western Nepal 1 khal is equal to 20, two mana pathis or 40 mana.

#### REFERENCE

Fürer-Haimendorf, C. Von, 1975. Himalayan Traders. London: John Murray.



## Annals of Prithvinarayan Shah in Contemporary Sanskrit Literature

Krishna Chandra Mishra\*

Throughout the history, poets and monarchs have lived by reciprocal performances. In past, poets were always in search of a contemporary great king what is reflected in the quest and query of Balmiki, the first poet, in the very beginning of his Adikavya as "कोऽन्वस्मिन् साम्प्रतं लोके". On the otherhand, survival of the body of fame (यशःकाय) of however a great monarch fully depended on the poet. And so even a true chronocler like Kalhana, took pride in recording the relative superiority of poet over that of his real human hero.

स्मृतिमपि न ते यान्ति दमापा विना यदनुग्रहम्  
प्रकृतिमहते कुर्मस्तस्मै नमः कविकर्मणे<sup>१</sup>।

Great epics of world invariably started in praise of great heroes and in Sanskrit, the hero of an epic, by rule, must be a royal one. Thus originated the historical literature in Sanskrit which is composed in Vams'a and Vijaya forms of epic poetry<sup>2A</sup>. Here history is fused with imagination to suit the taste of old audience. In this way to quote Dandi "the famous figure of ancient kings, reflected in the mirror of literature, continue to maintain the image even after those kings are no more alive."<sup>2B</sup>

In Sanskrit the tradition of Vams'a and Vijaya form of historical epic is very old. The first epic, the Ramayana is the chronicle of the kings of Solar Dynasty (Surya Vams'a) and the great Epic Mahabharata describes the story of feud between two families of the Lunar Dynasty (Chandra Vams'a), in the name of 'Jaya'. The first classical epic of Sanskrit, attributed to the great grammarian Panini, is known as 'Patala Vijaya'. Kalidasa's masterpiece epic is named as Raghuvams'a. Later, in the evolution of captions of Sanskrit, epic, some we find surnamed as 'Udaya' (Nelodaya) and 'Charita' (Naisadha Charita) also. In Nepal these patterns of historical poetry have remained wide in vogue up to this day, as is evident from the names Bhaktaviyaja, Prithvindravarnodaya, Mahendrodaya etc.

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Nepal is reputed as the land of gods and kings, throughout the world. Eulogies of great kings and devotional poems form the bulk of Sanskrit poetry found here in the shape of inscriptions as well as belles letters. In this context, heroic exploits of the great King Prithvinarayan Shah, known as Bismark of Nepal, has had a unique popularity among the poets and audience. He is extolled for munificence and gallantry in warfare in a dozen or more inscriptions as well as poems dramas, stories etc. Poets wrote fervently and frequently about him in Sanskrit and Vernacular too.

Though King Prithvinarayan Shah, as the leader of masses, encouraged the vernacular, Sanskrit retained the superior position at his court. This is evidenced from inscriptions and contemporary literature and scripture. The venerable Kings of Gorkha had recognised in Sanskrit the veins of Hindu socio-cultural organism and therefore they patronised it with utmost care. Their priests, bards and ministers were versed in Sanskrit language and literature. Rama Shah, the famous jurist King of Gorkha, was a lover of Sanskrit and got scribed the classics of Sanskrit, like Meghaduta for his personal collection.<sup>3</sup> Chakrapani, an envoy, of King Prithvinarayan Shah, wrote his diaries in Sanskrit<sup>4</sup> and poets like Lalitaballabha adorned his court.

Annals of this great King of Nepal is recorded in literature in many forms. They are described in inscriptions, eulogies, short historical epics and other mixed forms of poetic art (viz. campu, gatha etc.) They are composed in Sanskrit by both Brahman and Buddhist poets.

Sanskrit inscriptions of Prithvinarayan Shah retain the elegance of style of earlier period. In these we get the vividness of description and poets' alertness for preserving the sanctity of facts. A highly impressive and yet realistic sketch of the unmatched great figure of Prithvinarayan Shah among his contemporaries is presented in the following verse of an unknown poet in his Basantpur South Block inscription:

राजानः सन्ति नो किं दिशि दिशि धरणीपाल वंशाव्यजाता  
धूतस्वापावलासु प्रणिहितमनसो दानयुद्ध प्रहीणाः ।  
पृथ्वीनारायणेशो रिपुदवदहनप्रौढ दावानलोऽसौ  
दाने मेघोपमानो जयति निजधरा वारितधूतदोषः५।

The poet condemns here those contemporary kings of North India, who, then, in the face of great enemies were drowned in the luxuries of life, while cheers are bestowed on Prithvinarayan Shah, for he alone was constantly alert against the foreign foes and banned many such bad practices as gambling, in his kingdom.

In another inscription of the same place (innercourt yard) some poet applauds his gallantry in foiling the demoniac diplomacy of the foreign foe (Mir Kasim and the British):

काश्मली सा प्रयातो वरुणादिशि जितोयस्यमल्लप्रहारा -

दातौमन्तः दाणेन दाणामपि न रणे स्थातुमीशःफिरद्वी<sup>६</sup> ।

Prithvinarayan remained the venerable figure to be remembered with awe and respect in many inscriptions of later dates. The initiative verses of Bagmati pillar inscription (A.D. 1811), composed by First Pandit Bani Bilaj Pande, glorify him as the marvellous King of Nepal.<sup>7</sup> A copper-plate inscription found at Palpa (Western Nepal) describes him as versed in seven parts of state craft.<sup>8</sup>

Apart from these inscriptions, at least three short epics describe the annals of this great King of Nepal in detail. Among these, two poems by Lalitaballabha are very famous. Even a cursory perusal of these poems will indicate that this poet was a courtier of King Prithvinarayan and must have accompanied him in his major conquests of Bhaktapur and other cities. His two works are named as Bhaktavijaya and Prithvindravarnodaya. Of these Bhaktavijaya is already published with a present day commentary.<sup>9</sup> Prithvindravarnodaya is only partly printed in an anthology of historical materials related with the great King.<sup>10</sup>

Bhaktavijaya narrates the episode of the conquest of Bhatgaon, which gave the final seal on the unification of this agelong valley kingdom by the Gorkha King. It is written in the traditional 'Vijaya' form of epical poetry and displays a realistic approach in relating the incidents of war.

Prithvindravarnodaya, on the other hand, is composed in the Vams' a form of historical epics, relating the biography and major conquests by the great king. It is divided in three chapters entitled as "सकलरिपु-ध्वंसन, नारायणावतारस्तवन". Only the first chapter bearing evidences on political history has been printed in full. The number of verses in different chapters are disproportionately arranged as in ch. I-12 and ch. III-18. The colophone indicates that the poem was hastily composed by the minstrel only nine months after the completion of Bhaktavijaya, probably to mark the festive occasion of the unification of Nepal valley or his annointment as the king emperor of this expanded empire. A post-script<sup>11</sup> in the end of the one of the manuscripts of 'Bhaktavijaya' expresses the lament for the fact that the poet was unsuccessful in full recitation of these two poems before the royal audience, and the king did not spare time to peruse these verses carefully. This is natural, as Prithvinarayan Shah a life long warrior and conquerer, could scarcely have time to be absorbed in somewhat luxurious chattering of the minstrels. Lalitaballabha, perhaps, knowing this temperament of his patron cut short the numbers of verses in the last two chapters which only flattered and eulogised his qualities.

Prithvinarayan Shah as the unifier or founder of the present kingdom of Nepal acquired the fame of a mythological hero in his life time. Nepalese folk literature is full of descriptions of his wonderful adventures<sup>12</sup> and allude to his divine qualities, such as easing the labour pain of women by showing his name-seal.<sup>13</sup> But Lalitaballabha has restrained himself from

tritulating the facts of history and he impartially narrates the heroic qualities of his patron's opponent too. Jayaprakasha Malla is depicted as a gallant king who braved in the face of a mighty enemy and suffered a fatal injury,<sup>14</sup> in his last bid to save his centuries old dynastic rule. These two poems of Lalitaballabha, barring some grammatical flaws and sporadic portions of prosaic chronicling, consist many pieces of fervent imageries and poetic eloquence. One of the verse in Bhaktavijaya has the popular series of imagery depicting the conquest of many tiny kingdom of the Nepal as the grand luncheon of the Emperor:

१४ सुवर्णपीठायित कान्त्ययिष्ठः समक्तमोगेनचनाति दृष्टः

समीहतेऽतः परमारसालाः सुपिष्टलोटी जमला विशालाः ।

It is said that the great king as a mighty devourer was not content having sat on the golden dining chair of Kanti (Kathmandu) and even after the delicious dish of 'Bhakta' (rice, here the conquest of Bhaktapura) wanted to relish more and more dishes of Palpa, Doti and Jumla etc. The idea is adopted and elaborated in a vernacular poem of Subanand Das,<sup>15</sup> probably the oldest poet of Nepali language. We don't know much whereabouts of these two poets, but they must have been contemporaries or Subanand might have lived a little later, who as a little learned verse maker got ideas from his senior to narrate the marvellous deeds of the king in flattering style of the bards.

Another chronical poem entitled 'Prithvi-digvijaya' is composed by Sundaranand Bajracharya.<sup>16</sup> He was a devout Buddhist priest as is evident from the first auspicious verse of this poem.<sup>17</sup> This poem narrates the war annals of Prithvinarayan Shah and has a remarkable brevity and clarity of style. It has altogether 39 verses. Though the literary merits of this poem cannot match with the works of Lalitaballabha, it has greater historical value as it relates the date of each conquest by Prithvinarayan Shah.

Gorkhavijayatilaka, by Agnidhara, found in fragments only,<sup>18</sup> is another heroic poem which narrates the conquest of western Nepal by the descendants of Prithvinarayan Shah. Initial portion of this poem which must be a description of the life of the great king is not available. Nevertheless he is often remembered and praised eloquently in the narration of subsequent battles.

Kavitanikasopala,<sup>19</sup> is some what a different type of composition in which Prithvinarayan Shah is depicted as a fine loving personality who wished very much the poets and other niceties of life like any mediaeval king. This work, ascribed to Lakshmana Kavi appears to be a fine creation of poetic fancy, very much in the fashion of famous mediaeval composition of Bhojaprabandha. It reports about a conference of poets organised by Pratapa Sinha Shah, the then crown prince, in the famous Balaju Park of Kathmandu. Here the description of Kathmandu city by the king to his youthful son has a touch of eroticism and hyperbolism.

Gorakhadhis'a campu,<sup>20</sup> a mixed composition in prose and verse describes the glorious deeds of the kings of Gorakha (Shah dynasty) up to King Surendra Bikrama Shah. Name of its author is not known. Composed at some later date it has elevated the personality of the great king to near divinity. By now, many popular beliefs about the supernatural power of the king had found root in the hearts of the Nepalese people.<sup>21</sup>

Yet another poem by Pandit Sundarananda, entitled Triratna Saundarya Gatha (fine story of three jewels) contains a poetic description of the life and qualities of King Prithvinarayan Shah in one chapter. This book has been critically edited and published by Shri Dhanabajra Bajracharya.<sup>22</sup> Every indication is that the author of this book, Sundarananda, is the same as the writer of Prithvi Digvijaya, mentioned above. This book narrates the story of 'trio' rule in Nepal by King Rajendra, Queen Mother Lalita Tripura Sundari and Prime Minister Bhimasena Thapa. Sundarananda's Sanskrit language shows some grammatical flaws. He was skilled in writing poetry in many vernaculars as is evident from the poems collected in this book in Nepali (Parvata), Newari and Bhasa (Hindi).

Jayaratnakar Nataka,<sup>23</sup> by the priest poet, Shaktiballabha Aryal is, so far, only dramatic work which attempts to bring on stage, the glorious character of the great king. This drama written completely in Sanskrit is somewhat different in form. Here character of the great king is narrated (not played) by the actors in the beginning and concluding scenes. This drama avoiding any care for unity relates a heap of imported incidents extending to three generations. Shaktiballabha was the son of Lakshminarayana, the preceptor of King Prithvinarayan himself. Lalitaballabha must be a senior contemporary of this poet, though we are ignorant of relation between them due to Lalita's silence about his family identity. Poetic merits of Shaktiballabha's work, his scholarship and command over Sanskrit language is definitely superior to any of his senior or junior contemporaries.

Above we have tried to give a summary account of works in Sanskrit which describe the glory of the great king of Nepal. Many more works of this type may still be unnoticed and need further investigation and collection. Literary and historical values of these works need more studies by scholars which may throw ample light on the history as well as the cultivation of Sanskrit poetry in the last centuries, in Nepal.

#### NOTES

1. Rajatarangini 1.46

2A. Vide: Ancient Historians of India by V.S. Pathaka, p. 17ff.

2B. आदिराज यशोविम्बमादर्शप्राप्तवाङ्मयम्

तेषामसन्निधानेऽपि न, स्वयं पश्य नश्यति ।

- 56 CNAS Journal, Vol. 10, No. 1 & 2 (Dec. 82/June 83)
3. Vide: 'Itihasa Prakasha', Sandhipatra Sangraha, Vol. 1, p. 236.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Sanskrit Sandes'a, 1.5.
  6. Sanskrit Sandes'a, II. 22.
  7. Printed in 'Triratna Saundary Gatha' ed. by Dhanabajra Bajracharya, p. 291ff.
  8. Itihasa Prakasha: Sandhi patra, I, p. 551.
  9. Vide: 'Prithvinarayan Ko Dibya Upades'a, ed. by Nayaraj Pant and cchers, Jagadamba Prakasana, Kathmandu.
  10. Op. cit., p. 437 ff.
  11. This is informed by Mr. R. Swaminathan ex-curator, National Archive of Nepal, in his article on these two poems in 'Ancient Nepal', No. 4, p. 44.
  12. Vide: Itihasa Prakasha: Sandhi Patra Sangraha.
  13. cf. 'यन्नामादारमुद्रिकां दितितले दृष्ट्वाधुनापि स्त्रियः ।  
शीघ्रं गर्भं विमोचनं विदधते (शान्तप्रसूतिव्यथाः) ।  
- Gorakshadhis' campu, verse 42.
  14. Bhaktavijaya, verse 103.
  15. cf. 'नेपालको सिन्धु लुटि, मरातको धीलेमुटी, पाल्पाको ल्याउ हींग,  
जिरो रिसिंगको, ल्याउ पिरौ तनहूको, माग सित भीकोटको दाल सित  
..... महाराजको जिउनार वनाउ है ।  
'Prithvinarayan' by Subanand, published in "Buigal" (an anthology of old Nepali poems) IIIrd edition.
  16. Printed in Itihasa Prakasha: Sandhipatra, p. 75 ff.
  17. This verse is taken from the famous Sanskrit play. 'Nagananda' of Shriharsa. This drama glorifies Buddha and Buddhism.
  18. Printed in Itihasa Prakasha: Sandhipatra, pp. 528-35.
  19. Edited and published by Yogi Narahari Nath from Yogapracharini, Gorakhtilla, Varanasi.
  20. Itihasa Prakasha, II, pp. 598-611.
  21. Vide Supra (f.n. 13).
  22. Nepal Sanskrit Parishad, Kathmandu.
  23. Published by Nepal Sanskrit Parishad, Kathmandu.

## River—Names of the Nepal Valley: A Study in Cultural Annexation\*

Kamal P. Malla\*\*

### 1. Introduction

This paper attempts to analyse the river-names of the Nepal Valley in an ethnolinguistic perspective. The river is an unmistakable element in the topography of any settlement, more so in agricultural settlements where the river may be their life-line. River-names are, therefore, an important index to the linguistic, cultural, and above all, ethnographic history of a settlement.

Ancient river-names of the Nepal Valley are examined in this paper as evidence of prehistoric ethnic contacts between the aborigines and the Indo-Aryan immigrants. Different strata of river-names are documented as evidence of the process of cultural absorption or Sanskritisation.

### 2. Sources

Ancient river-names are collated from the extant corpus of Licchavi epigraphy (A.D. 464-879). Later medieval documents, such as land grants and endowment inscriptions, contain some river-names. For modern river-names, the main source used are the Kathmandu Valley Maps (1:50 mile scale). However, these maps use what the transcribers call "Nepalized" forms of river-names.

### 3. Ancient River-Names

Ancient river-names of the Nepal Valley are preserved in some 200 Licchavi inscriptions. They are all in Sanskrit, engraved in Gupta syllabic script, almost entirely on stone. There are altogether 35 river-names and names of water-sources such as springs and artificial canals. These hydronyms are given below with their dates (where available) and in situ location of the inscription:

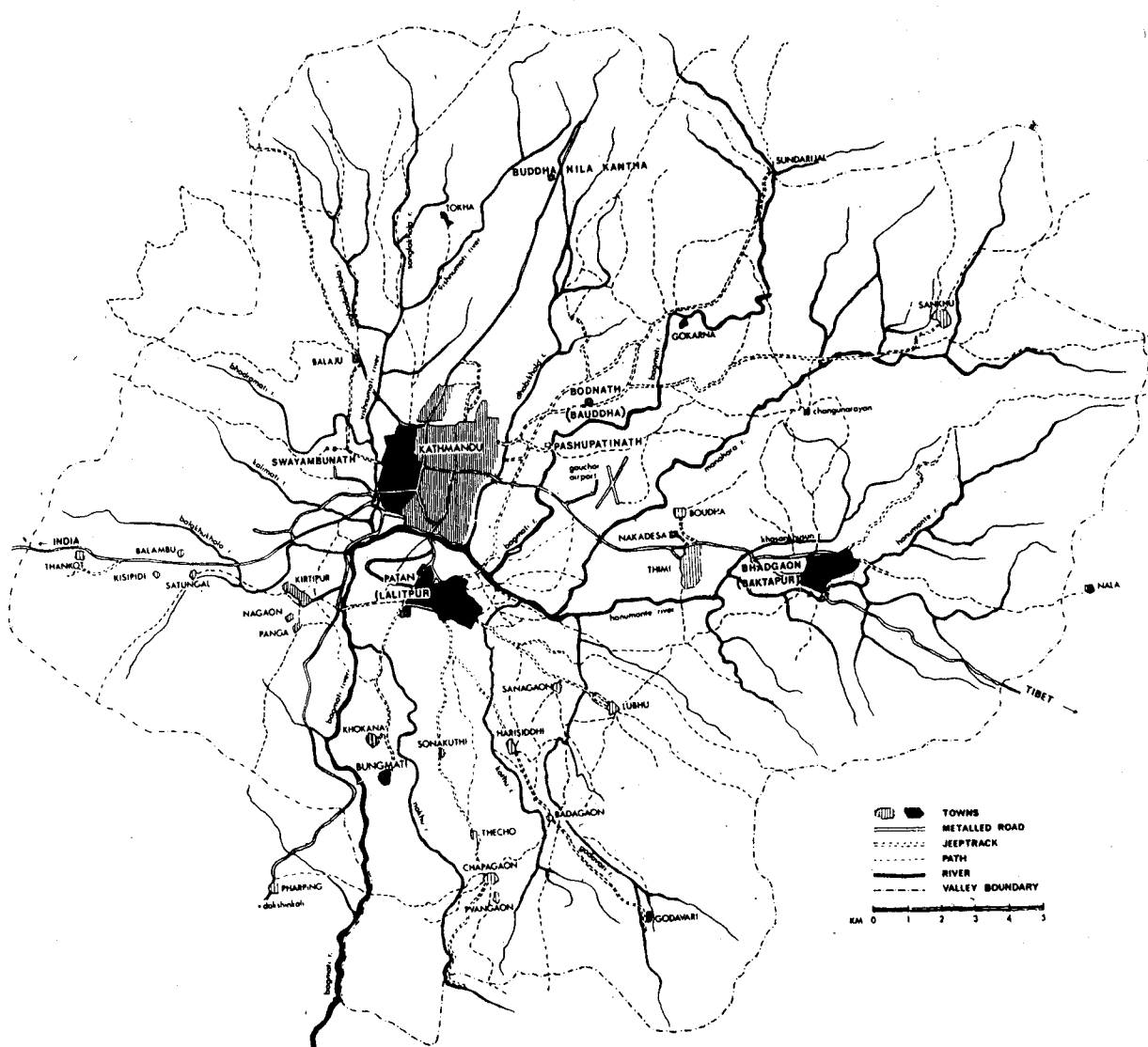
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| <u>Date</u> | <u>Hydronym</u> | <u>Type</u>    | <u>Location</u>         |
|-------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| A.D. 477    | Vāgvatī         | River          | Devapātan               |
| 557         | Bunlu           | River          | Pharping                |
| 573         | Manimatī        | River          | Pātan, Saṅkhamula       |
| Ca. 595-605 | Udalmaalaka     | Water-source   | Cāngu                   |
|             | Śātuntī         | Water-source   | Cāngu                   |
|             | Burdumbradul    | River          | Cāngu                   |
|             | Ripsīṅko        | Water-source   | Cāngu                   |
|             | Vilhaṅkho       | Water-source   | Cāngu                   |
|             | Projñjambu      | Junction       | Cāngu                   |
|             | Proṇnipraṇ      | Junction       | Cāngu                   |
|             | Proṇprovāṇ      | Junction       | Cāngu                   |
|             | Dhelanti        | River          | Banepā                  |
|             | Tekhumdul       | Water-source   | Banepā                  |
|             | 597 Jñātikhrin  | River          | Tokhā                   |
|             | Tilamaka        | Canal          | Tokhā                   |
|             | Saṅko           | Water-fall     | Bhaktapur, Kumhāla Tole |
|             | Sanjarā         | Water-fall     | Bhaktapur, Kumhāla Tole |
| 613         | Custuṇ          | River          | Tistung                 |
|             | Cupriṇ          | River          | Tistung                 |
| 695         | Teṅkhu          | River          | Lagan, Kāthmāndu        |
|             | Cisimaṇḍā       | Canal          | Lagan, Kāthmāndu        |
| 697         | Mekaṇḍidul      | Canal          | Paśupati                |
|             | Sreṣṭhidul      | Canal          | Paśupati                |
| 705         | Puttī           | River          | Balambū                 |
|             | Lulju           | Canal          | Balambū                 |
|             | Yavadu          | River-junction | Balambū                 |
|             | Himanadī        | River          | Balambū                 |
|             | Utthimanadī     | River          | Balambū                 |
|             | Gollam          | Canal          | Balambū                 |
|             | Samvaidya       | River          | Balambū                 |
| Ca. 713-733 | Yaku            | River (?)      | Naxāl                   |
|             | Japtikhū        | River          | Naxāl                   |
|             | Hudikhū         | River          | Naxāl                   |
|             | Vṛhannadī       | River          | Naxāl                   |
|             | Lamkhu          | River          | Naxāl                   |





Main Rivers of the Nepal Valley

Since the dawn of recorded history the Nepal Himalaya has been the retreat of the Mongoloid Tibeto-Burman-speaking tribes, known to the Indo-Aryans as Kirātas. The Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain literary sources indicate that the Indo-Aryan speakers from the Himalayan foothills were in regular contact with the relatively secluded Nepal Valley at least as early as the 4th or 5th century B.C. The north Indian traders in wool, the missionaries of India's great apostolic religions, and above all the fugitive Vṛjjis, Śākyas, Kōlis, and Licchavis had begun to penetrate the Nepal Himalaya long before the beginning of the Christian era. There is, however, no unanimity of opinion among scholars on the approximate date of the arrivals of the Licchavis in the Nepal Valley. It ranges from 484 B.C. (J.C. Regmi, 1978: 31) to the 4th century A.D. (Jhā, 1970: 100-113)! The Licchavis may have arrived as fugitives, but as their influence grew steadily they--unlike other immigrant clans of Indian origins--appear to have subjugated the aboriginal Kirātas of the central Nepal, finally establishing their rule in ca. 1st or 2nd century A.D. The Licchavi rulers prior to Mānadeva (A.D. 464-505) were, in all likelihood, nominal feudatories, accepting the suzerainty of the Gupta Emperors of India. As the Gupta Empire began to decline, particularly with Skandha Gupta's death (A.D. 467), the Licchavis seemed to have consolidated their hold on Nepal. Classical and purāṇic Hinduism, Gupta art, Gupta script, and above all, the Sanskrit language arrived in the Nepal Valley with the Licchavis, if not earlier.

#### 4. Non-Indo-Aryan River-Names

Sanskrit epigraphy is one of the cultural artefacts which the Licchavi rulers brought from India. No wonder that out of 35 hydronyms in Licchavi inscriptions only four, Vāgvatī, Maṇimatī, Himanadī, and Vṛhannadī, are Sanskrit. Yavadu, Samvaidya, and Sanjara may be Prakrit. Yavadu, Himanadī, and Utthima all come from Balambu--a Prakrit stronghold, and chronologically they are relatively late. The Nepal Valley has no major river system. Among the ones that drain the Valley, the Vāgmatī and Manoharā alone are the major ones. The Viṣṇumatī was still a peripheral river in ca A.D. 590s. Its name was not yet Sanskritised, (and was it called jñātikhr̥n?). Evidently, the major rivers are the first ones to be baptized in Sanskrit, leaving the lesser and peripheral rivers and rivulets undisturbed with their aboriginal names.

In the Sanskrit texts of Licchavi epigraphy, non-Indo-Aryan river-names float like insolvent flotsam and jetsam. As the linguistic and ethnographic relics of a people already politically and culturally overrun, these river-names reveal several interesting genetic and formal features. In order to bring these features into relief the data can be examined in identifiable groups.

##### 1. cu+

cu-stuñ

cu-priñ

##### 2. +ko/kho

sañ-ko

ripsīñ-ko

vilhañ-kho

3. +khu/ku

te-khum  
teñ-khū  
japti-khū  
huḍi-khū  
ya-ku

4. +ti/di

śātunti  
dhelanti  
mekañḍi-  
niti-  
japti-  
huḍi-  
putti-  
jñāti-

5. +dul

burdumbra-dul  
tekhum-dul  
niti-dul  
mekandi-dul

Of all these non-Indo-Aryan river-names, tenkhu > tekhu alone has survived full thirteen centuries of social, cultural and political vicissitudes. Cu (water/river) has a cognate in several Tibetan river-names, e.g., dNal-chu, Nañ-chu, Ra-Chu, Dag-chu, 'Bri-chu, etc. Khu, on the other hand, (with dialectal variants ko/kho), is related to Tibetan Klūn and Chinese klūn/koñ (river). A Sanskrit-Newari lexicon, dated NS 501 (A.D. 1380), gives kho as gloss for Sanskrit nadī. The deaspirated Kosi < Khosi drains the Kirānt land in Eastern Nepal. Although the Indo-Aryan speakers have Sanskritised all its tributaries, fortunately for us there still is Likhu (brass river). The so-called Indrāvati Kosi, one of the seven Kośi rivers, was actually called Milamchi or Milamchu (milamha = the third one) until the A.D. 1840s (Hodgson, 1848: 646, Hodgson, 1874; Part II: 5). The same appears to be true of the Gandakī river-system, where Ankhu still survives. (Note the Newari child-word for water ākhu, and water-pot with a spout, ānkhudhā). Till A.D. 1958, the Trisūli (trident) river was known by its aboriginal name, salankhu < swa-lam-khu (three-pronged river) (Hodgson, 1874, 63-64).

Ko/kho/khu are more archaic than either cu or ti/di because the latter roots are Tibeto-Burman rather than Sino-Tibetan. However, what appears ethnolinguistically interesting is the fact that in the Nepal Valley, khu is more widespread than ti/di -- indicating a more primitive stratum of ethnic and/or linguistic contact with the north. For example, we have even today several river-names with +khu, nwa-khu, bal-khu, sāmā-khu, te-khu, bhacā-khu, gā-khu, tu-khu, kot-khu, tabyā-khu, and hijā-khu, to mention only the familiar ones. Ti/di are, of course, verifiable Tibeto-Burman roots for water/river. In modern Newari, however, they have survived, not in river-names, but in such nominal compounds as hi-ti

(washing water), lhu-ti (bathing water), quā-ti (lintel broth), khi-ti (body dirty), ca-ti (perspiration), and tun-ti (well) etc. In the Lic-chavi epigraphy there occurs an interesting nominal compound tilamaka (canal). The A.D. 1381 Sanskrit-Newari lexicon mentions tilam as Newari gloss for Sanskrit word kulyā (canal). In the inscriptions, the word appears in its Indo-Aryan garb as tilamaka < ti+lapkha (liquid water, i.e., flowing water). It is worth noting that just as khu is dominant in Central Nepal Valley, ti/di are widespread west of the Valley, particularly in the Gurung-Magar-speaking areas, e.g., Marsyān-di, Daraū-di, Ri-di, Tā-di, Myāg-di and possibly even Rāp-ti, and Se-ti.

As for dul, there is no doubt that it is an archaic form of du, which survives in such modern Newari river-names as dol-ḍu, Gunḍu, Hundu, Khodu, and Naldu. The retroflex ḍ in the first three names is, undoubtedly, a consequence of the so-called "Nepalized" transcription, rather like Newari quāti becoming Nepali quāti, and Newari hiti becoming Nepali hiṭi (see Sharma, 1962, for these forms).

##### 5. River-Mythi of the Nepal Valley

The transformation of some of these 'rude', 'barbarous', and 'cacophonous', river-names (Ācārya, 1938) into the graceful -vati-s and -mati-s of the Indo-Aryan speeches must have been a slow but interesting process of cultural conquest and annexation of one naming-system by quite another one. Fortunately for us, there still survives a species of texts in Sanskrit which document the process, albeit in mythical metaphors. Myths do not have dates, but texts are dated or relatively datable. Nepāla Mahātmya, Paśupati Purāṇa, Swayambhū Purāṇa, Himavat Khaṇḍa, Vāgmati Mahātmya, and some of the 19th-century vernacular chronicles, drawing upon the above purāṇic sources, contain interesting myths about the baptizing of the rivers of the Valley. The traditions which this literature draws upon may be older than the texts. But they are clearly an outgrowth of the 15-16th century religious nationalism in the Valley. The oldest known copy of Nepāla Mahātmya is dated NS 774/A.D. 1654; the oldest available copy of Swayambhū Purāṇa is dated NS 678/A.D. 1558. This literature appears to have grown, at least in part, out of the cultural need to glorify and legitimatise the local shrines, particularly the rivers and their confluences, by some or other kind of divine or numinous association. Not only Hindu ideologues but also Buddhist pundits seem to have succumbed to this myth-making urge. What strikes the student of mythology is not the sectarian bias of these purāṇic texts. What strikes us are the conflicting versions of the same or similar myths pertaining to the origins of the river-names.

Take for example, the myth relating to the origins of the river-name Vāgmati. According to Paśupati Purāṇa, the river got its name because she was born from the mouth of Śiva as he was contemplating the penances of Pralhāda. So she is called Vāk (mouth) + mati (river). According to Nepāla Mahātmya, on the other hand, Vāgmati sprung out from one of the horns of Paśupati when Śiva transformed himself into an antelope to mislead the gods. The Buddhist version of the river-myth is totally different. It is the very water of the Ganges which sprung out from the rock when it was struck by the Maṇuśī Buddha Krakkucchanda by

the power of mantra or Vāk (speech or magic spell) when he was in search of a stream to ordain the very first Buddhist monks in the Valley. The same is the case of Viṣṇumatī. To the Hindus, Viṣṇumatī is so-called because she began to flow, like the Ganges, at the feet of Lord Viṣṇu. The Buddhists, however, call her Keśāvati because she derived her name from the shaved hairs thrown mid-stream when Krakkucchanda had ordained the first Nepalese monks. The Buddhists connect Manimatī to the famous Buddhist Prince Mañicūda who granted the jewel from his head to his suitors on the banks of the river. The Hindus connect it to the jewel-like drops of perspiration of Lord Viṣṇu. Hanumatī or Hanumante, the main river in Bhaktapur, receives its name from the monkey-god Hanumān, who despite his hurry to reach Lāṅkā, managed to stop for a moment on the banks of the Bhaktapur river (in all likelihood with the aboriginal name Khāsyāṅkhu) only to baptize it as Hanumatī ! Thus there is no source of water in the Nepal Valley, no matter whether it is a river, or a streamlet, or a humble string of water, without some divine association or a godfather.

The purānic river-myths are unacknowledged statements of the process of cultural conquest of toponyms, and their spurious nature is betrayed by the conflicting etymons and interpretations. What is more embarrassing is that a majority of aboriginal names have survived if only to uncover this cultural subterfuge. Thus we know how Tibeto-Burman nwa-khu (mouth-river or murmuring river) has become Indo-Aryan, Vāk-matī = Vāgmātī. Beyond the pale of the urban and Sanskritised culture-belt, the river is still called nwa-khu (cf. Newari nwa-wā-ye, to speak, nwa-sil-e, to wash one's mouth, etc). Now we also know how Newari sugarcane-river Tu-khu became Indo-Aryan Ikṣumatī. Sā-khu, doubtlessly, was the name of the river retained now only by the town, but lost by the river itself for Manimatī. Lakhu became Dhanāvati because this was the river where the legendary sand was collected which later on became gold, enabling the merchant of Kathmandu, Sākhwā to pay off all the outstanding national debts and found a new era. Hijākhu became Rudramatī, Balkhu became Ratnāvati, and most interesting of all, Bhacākhu, shallow or gentle river, became Sanskrit Bhadramatī!

#### 6. Recent Phenomena

Unfortunately for the myth-makers and ideologues, few of these ancient and medieval -matī-s and vati-s have survived. The only exceptions seem to be Vāgmātī, Viṣṇumatī, Manoharā, and Hanumante. This, however, does not mean that the process of cultural annexation is dead or dying. On the contrary, it is now a more militant process than ever before in the Valley's cultural history. Only a couple of decades ago, Kāng-chomolungmā, the world's highest peak, was renamed as Sagarmāthā on the basis of a very dubious etymological interpretation by a pundit (Ācārya, 1938). In order to show the more recent trends in hydro-nomenclature, we give below some river-names listed in the Kathmandu Valley Maps:

|                  |                 |
|------------------|-----------------|
| Aśwa Kholā       | Kalanti Kholā   |
| Bajeni Kholā     | Kalcure Kholā   |
| Bākhre Kholā     | Kamero Kholā    |
| Bihābar Kholā    | Karmanāsā Kholā |
| Cārkhanda Kholā  | Kāttike Kholā   |
| Charropāni Kholā | Kalbhāj Kholā   |
| Cihān Kholā      | Khahare Kholā   |
| Chare Kholā      | Khāni Kholā     |
| Chare Kholā      | Lāmāchaur Kholā |
| Chapne Kholā     | Lāmbagar Kholā  |
| Chop Kholā       | MaruwāKhahare   |
| Damai Kholā      | Māi Kholā       |
| Dhobi Kholā      | Māiti Kholā     |
| Ghatte Kholā     | Narkate Kholā   |
| Jagare Kholā     | Paire Kholā     |
| Jantri Kholā     | Sānglā Kholā    |
| Junge Kholā      | Sāngu Kholā     |
|                  | Thāro Kholā     |
|                  | Thulo Kholā     |

With the exception of Dhobi Kholā (obviously, a translation of Newari Hijā-khusi = washing-work-river) nearly all the rivers or rivulets listed here drain the periphery (kānth) of the Valley. Nearly all these rivulets are in the areas lately settled by the Khas Brahmins and Chhetris and their subservient occupational castes such as Kāmi, Damāi, Sārki, Gāine, Bhāt, and Dhobi.

The Khas assaults on the Nepal Valley started in the late 13th century A.D. Between A.D. 1288-1328, there were several recurrent Khas invasions of the Valley. However, "these were only raids carried into Nepal with an intent to plunder the riches" (D.R. Regmi, 1965: 244). Pockets of permanent Khas settlements in the Valley were few and far between earlier than the 17th century A.D. Kathmandu's King Ratna Malla (A.D. 1484-1520) began enlisting Khas and Magar mercenaries in his army. A major Khas-Magar attack on the Valley took place in A.D. 1525/26 when the Pālpā Magar chieftain, Mukunda Sena invaded the Valley twice--once with a horde of 51 and the second time with a horde of 61--and set fire in a number of Newar settlements. But these marauding hordes left the Valley after 4 days of rampage of destruction (Pant and Pant, 1979: 102). Major Khas immigration and settlement of the outskirts of the Valley was, in fact, encouraged by the later Malla kings (Vajrācārya et al., 1962: 181-187).

However, Bista (1982: 7) has recently made a historically and linguistically most incredible claim that there was "a very heavy influence of the early Khas Prakrit language in the Nepal Valley" (Bista, 1982: 7). This claim is made on the basis of some Prakrit data collated by me from Licchavi epigraphy (Malla, 1981: 5-26). The New Indo-Aryan languages or dialects (of which Khas or Pahāri is one) began to diverge from the Middle Indo-Aryan languages or the so-called Apabhramsa-s in ca. A.D. 1000-1200. The Prakrit dialects which entered the Nepal Valley with the Licchavis were Māgadhi in origin whereas the source of the Khas or Pahāri dialects is Sauraseni-- entirely different phylum of Apabhramsa. Even the Middle

Indo-Aryan dialects had not yet been attested, let alone the New Indo-Aryan dialects, when the Licchavis brought their colloquial speeches into the Valley. Therefore, to hypothesize "a heavy influence of the early Khas Prakrit language in the Nepal Valley" may be comfortable fiction, but not history. The Licchavis were in power in Nepal for the first nine centuries of the first millennium A.D. The earliest evidence of Khas Prakrit attested so far comes from a bilingual Tibetan-Khas copperplate of Aditya Malla, dated A.D. 1321!

## 7. Stages of Cultural Annexation

An analysis of the river-names of the Valley--ancient as well as the modern ones--shows that there are three main stages of Sanskritisation of place-names. They are:

- a. Approximation
- b. Translation
- c. Substitution.

Approximation is the least aggressive linguistic process. When Bhacākhū is Sanskritised as Bhadramatī, the process at work is approximation. Both phonetically and semantically the two names are not irreconcilable. But when Thābahil (the monastery in the upper part of town) becomes Thamel, the approximation is only phonetic, not semantic. It is somewhat like the 18th-19th century European spelling Cāt-mān-do for Kāth-māṇḍou < Skt. Kāṣṭhamāṇḍapa (pavalion made of wood).

Translation is an intermediate process of cultural annexation. It takes place when Newari Nwakhū (mouth-river; murmuring river) becomes Sanskrit Vāgmatī, or when Tukhū (sugarcane river) becomes Skt. Ikṣumatī, or more recently Newari Hijākhūsi becomes Khas Dhobi Kholā. Translation is a cultural process which is possible only when the two ethnic groups each with a distinct linguistic and cultural system-- have been in contact for sufficiently long period for the bilingual to thrive as a bridge over the two systems. When translation takes place from Language A to Language B, the latter would have already been enthroned as the code of the prestige group.

Substitution is the final, and in a sense the most desperate, attempt to come to grips with unpalatable cultural and linguistic realities. When Khāsāñkhū becomes Hanumatī or when Balkhū is converted into Rātnāvati and Hijākhū had to be called Rudramatī, something radical is taking place. This process takes place, presumably, when the older place-names are either not-too-pleasant reminders to the new elites or not-too-comprehensible to their cultivated ears. The 'rude', 'barbarous', and 'cacophonous' names slowly begin to give way to the cultured and graceful -vati-s and -matī-s. Substitution is an assertive rather than assimilative process. It takes place, perhaps, when the displacement of the older strata of settlers is complete--politically as well as culturally.



8. Conclusion

Few persons in Kathmandu would today know where Nara or Jala is situated. They would, however, be quite familiar with such place-names as Hārigaon or Harisiddhi. But neither of these names tell us much about the ethnic, social or cultural history of these places. On the other hand, ancient names such as Nara (Hārigaon) and Jala (Harisiddhi) clearly enable us to relate these settlements to a cultural stratum going far back at least to the 5th century A.D. For the place-name nara-prin occurs in a Licchavi inscription dated A.D. 490. Similarly, the place-name jol-prin occurs in an inscription dated A.D. 631. Whereas place-names such as Nara or Jala enable us to trace back the connected history of these settlements for full 1500 years, Hārigaon or Harisiddhi are relatively late and, above all, they are socially and culturally misleading clues to their antiquity.

An overwhelming number of older place-names of this ancient valley are increasingly submerged under the "Nepalized" (as the German cartographers have so agreeably put it) substitutions. Many more of the less familiar place-names are receding into the world of oblivion with each passing generation. Place-names are as much a part of one's cultural heritage as personal surnames are of one's social history. Unless they are systematically rescued, recorded, and studied by well-trained native speakers, one of the most valuable relics of our ethnolinguistic past is likely to be buried for ever under the burgeoning cultural debris, consisting of such drab coinage as Bāṅgemudhā, Pradarśanī Mārga or, if you will, King's Way! The loser, in any case, will not be the linguist alone.

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## Mass-Media Tradition and Change\* (An Overview of Change in Nepal)

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### Introduction

A Mass Media is defined as "any means or agency or instrument which communicates ideas, attitudes, impressions or images to a large number of people." There are various forms of media: newspapers, magazines, radio, television, films, books etc. Drama, comics, music, puppetry and graffiti are also included in mass-media. Television is by far the most powerful medium because it dramatizes the news and make it possible to visually transmit events as and when they happen.

Nepal is not only a land-locked country but also virtually a closed one without outside linkages for a long period. In fact, the development of communication linkages at both national and international levels was initiated from the very base after the political change of 1951. The developments that were achieved during the last three decades are not still adequate to meet the national requirements. However, the infrastructure of communication linkages now available in the country should be considered a matter of satisfaction, when viewed in terms of time duration of their development. Although no newspaper other than government publication was available prior to 1951, it was the first medium of mass communication developed in the country. The first newspaper known as "Gorkhapatra" was published in 1901. During its infancy it was basically a medium of dissemination of government notices and informations. Its circulation was extremely limited, and it was usually found in government offices. The political change of 1951 was immediately followed by the publication of a number of both Nepali and English dailies. Besides, Gorkhapatra and Rising Nepal, some of the important dailies are, Motherland, Commoner, Samaj and Naya Samaj etc. There are papers which are published outside Kathmandu, but they are basically local in character in terms of both circulation and news coverage. There are some weeklies like Samikshya, Rastriya Pukar, Naya Sandesh and Matri Bhumi etc. They are, however, mainly important for views, opinions, and comments.

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An obvious constraint to the development of newspapers as mass media was the lack of news agency in the country. It was only in 1961 that the national news agency named as "Rastriya Sambad Samiti" was created. In 1971, it was renamed as "Rastriya Samachar Samiti". The RSS has either exchange arrangement or some kind of link with major wire services of the world - AFP, Tass, Xinhua, Tanjung, A.P. and Kyodo. It has to pay about Rs. 80,000.00 royalty each to AFP and AP. News are obtained on exchange basis as well. RSS publishes news bulletin five times a day in both Nepali and English. Nepal is a member of the non-aligned news pool and has participated in its several meetings. There is also a genuine support for the New International Information Order which seeks to restructure the world media so that information from developing Third World Countries could be reported objectively.

Because of difficult terrains and inaccessibility and due to the lack of communication facilities, newspaper cannot be considered as the quick media. In remote places, it takes several days to make newspaper available. Moreover due to extremely limited number of literate people who can read newspaper, newspapers cannot be still claimed as effective mass media. There are two constraints to the development of newspapers in the country as mass media. One is inaccessibility, the other's illiteracy. Therefore, radio has great advantage over newspapers as it is very quick and effective medium to reach any part of the country. "The radio-the-transistor" is as much part of the milieu as the shamanistic rites of a tribal society. For a country like Nepal with a difficult mountain terrain and an almost absence of the other means of communications, radio is the principle communicator between the government and the people" (Bhatt 1982: 10).

Radio Nepal came into existence with the political revolution of 1951. In the beginning it began its operation from Kathmandu with a 300 watt military type shortwave transmitter. Improvement were made in 1954, 1956 and 1968. Few years back with the installation of a powerful transmitter at Khumaltar Radio Nepal has become effective to cover the all parts of the country and some parts of neighbouring countries. It provides simultaneous transmissions of three frequencies, one medium wave and two short waves. Two transmitters are kept stand by, ready to be on air in the event of the failure of the main transmitters.

Radio Nepal now broadcasts three times a day with the total 13½ broadcasting hours. The programme contents show that the commercial programme has the maximum duration with about 25 percent of the total hours. It is followed by musical programme with about 19 percent. The music content takes in fact the longest duration as the major portion of the commercial service contains music. News and commentary content constitutes about 12 percent of the total services hours of a day. Other important service contents include religions, rural and women programmes. Educational service occupies only 2.4 percent. Most of the programmes except news are pre-recorded on reel to reel tape or broadcast cartedges in the studios (Bajracharya and Shrestha 1981: 164).

A study which has been made recently on the radio service in the country has revealed that the news content is the most popular service. The second popular content is the agricultural service which is operated as a part of the rural programme (Bajracharya and Shrestha 1981: 165). The popularity of these programmes is quite obvious. Radio Nepal has become quite popular for news the broadcast of which is made seven times a day, two times in English and five times in Nepali. In addition, the broadcast of district news is made two times a day. Agriculture service broadcasts mainly informations on techniques of cultivation of various crops as well as control of diseases. By virtue of being a very useful programme to the farmers, the popularity of this service is not unnatural in an agricultural country like Nepal.

In developed countries, extension has been purely an educational programme but in a developing country like Nepal it is an educational as well as a service rendering agency (Pyakurel 1976: 49).

The various extension teaching methods used in Nepal are as follows:

- (a) Mass Contact - Radio, booklets, pamphlets, and posters.
- (b) Group Contact - Group meetings, agricultural fairs and exhibits, results and method demonstration.
- (c) Personal Contact - Farm and home visiting office call.

#### Film and Music

Until very recently, there was no film industry in Nepal. The Information Department produced on an ad hoc basis news reels, documentaries and occasionally feature films all of which had strong political overtones. The National Communication Plan 1971 envisaged the establishment of a film industry - initially through governmental assistance. The Royal Nepal Film Corporation, a public sector body has thus far produced about half a dozen of feature films. Considering the craze which people have for films, the development of film industry in Nepal is pretty bright. The Royal Nepal Film Corporation has thus far received about Rs. 23 millions from His Majesty's Government and it has a monopoly in regard to production of news reels and documentaries for Ministry of Communication. The Corporation has participated in international film festivals where some of its creations have been well appreciated.

The Ratna Recording Corporation was established in early sixties by Her Majesty Queen Mother Ratna in order to encourage, foster and popularise the varied and rich Nepalese folk culture which finds expression in songs, music and dances. Since its inception, the corporation has produced nearly 100 records which include folk songs and modern music. The corporation has plans to produce cassettes and set up a sophisticated recording system in its recently completed new building in the Panchayat Plaza.

The National Communication Plan 1971

The Communication Plan was initiated in 1971 was formulated under the gracious guidance of His Majesty King Birendra. It came into force on July 17, 1971 with the sublime motto "Communication for Development." The Plan essentially sought to:-

- i. Strengthen the traditional unity of the country for its planned development;
- ii. Strengthen the continuous and unbreakable bonds and belief towards the establishment;
- iii. Enhance national prestige and dignity in the world;
- iv. Create greater respect among non-aligned nations and neighbours towards the kingdom;
- v. Create respect and confidence among countrymen for world peace.

The Plan provided the following policy guidelines for the fulfillment of these objectives:

- i. The communication system should be, as far as possible, comprehensive;
- ii. Activities which are related to mass communication should be "people oriented;"
- iii. As majority of the people live in rural areas, there should be awareness of the need to reorient people's thought towards development through a "judicious mixture of new and old ideas;"
- iv. The language which is to be used by the various communication media should as far as possible be simple and easily understandable;
- v. The message which is sought to be transmitted to the people through communication medium should have a local element;
- vi. Through adoption of realistic and objective attitudes, confidence and respect should be created towards the communication service;
- vii. The material to be used in communications should be topical.

The National Communication Plan aimed at the rapid development of existing Mass-Media as well as at the proper and maximum utilization of the media to create a congenial climate for speedy development. The communication plan covered a wide range of subjects dealing with public relations and information and organisation of various agencies working



in the field of Mass Communication. In the process the plan laid down the basic aims of a development oriented communication strategy and prepared ground for the maximum coordination among various mass communication media and agencies. The plan streamlined various mass-media agencies and laid a basis for their new organisational set up and mutual coordination. It provided for a separate Ministry of Communication headed by a fulltime secretary for the first time. Under the Ministry of Communications are four departments viz. (1) the Department of Information, (2) His Majesty's Government Press, (3) the Department of Postal Services, (4) the Department of Broadcasting (Radio Nepal), as well as six corporation namely: (1) the Gorkhapatra Corporation, (2) the Royal Film Corporation, (3) Ratna Recording Corporation, (4) Sanskritik Sansthan (Cultural Undertaking), (5) Rastriya Samachar Samiti (National News Agency) and (6) Nepal Tele-communication Corporation.

The Communication Plan has become an integral part of the National Development Plan. The Government policy for mass-communication media is well spelt out in the Sixth Plan 1980-85. The specific programmes to be carried out are mentioned in this plan.

The policy measures of His Majesty's Government in the sector of the development of mass communication media include:

- a. Arrangement will be made and effective mechanism will be developed for quick transmission and receipt of news both at national and international level.
- b. Arrangement will be made to make development news of the country available as early as possible throughout the country as well as in the South-Asia countries.
- c. To make mass communication more effective, the functioning of communication lines and concerned units will be well channelised.
- d. The Corporations concerned with mass-communications are so far run with government financial assistance. These corporations will now be developed along commercial lines by developing share capital.
- e. To make these corporations organised on commercial basis, self-sufficient provisions for raising reasonable charges will be made in the various services provided by them.

The major programme to be undertaken in the development of mass communication are as follows:

- a. Teliprinter services will be established between Kathmandu and Nepalgunj.

- b. The central office of RSS office building will be expanded and branch offices will be constructed in Nepalgunj, Janakpur, Rajbiraj and Birgunj or Hetauda. There are provisions for the establishment of monitoring unit, mechanical workshop, documentation and training units, all of which will be attached to RSS.
- c. New equipments will be added in Gorkhapatra Corporation with a view to timely publish newspapers. Delivery system will be made effective, and delivery man will be appointed, to make quick and timely delivery of 'Gorkhapatra' and 'The Rising Nepal', the two widely circulated semi-government dailies.
- d. Radio services will be improved. The standard of radio-broadcast will be upgraded so as to make it well-comprehensive all over the kingdom. Besides expansion and refinement of existing services, two new transmitters will be established, each being of 100 KW capacity. Of these one will be installed in Pokhara and the other in Kathmandu. One Ultra Modern Studio will be developed in Kathmandu.<sup>2</sup>
- e. To undertake feasibility study for the establishment of television service in the country and to begin transmission service at selected places if found feasible from technical and economic standpoint.

#### The Radio Education Teacher's Training Project

The Ministry of Education and Culture has recognised the potential of radio as a means of furthering education in Nepal. A variety of educational programmes were initiated in the 1960's over Radio Nepal including a series of broadcasts designed to assist classroom instruction in the primary and lower secondary grades. It was also decided that one of the greatest needs in Nepal where radio might be useful was in (the preparation of training the untrained) primary school teachers. The main objective of the Radio Education Teacher's Training Project is to develop and test a training programme for untrained, rural primary school teachers through the medium of radio reinforced by written, self-instruction materials and periodic workshops. This project has attempted to create a cost effective process for assisting untrained teachers to meet basic certification standards while continuing to live and teach in their villages. The long range goal is to provide the facilities (100,000 watt short-wave transmitter, antenna, recording studio, and radio receivers) and a staff (scriptwriters, supervisors, radio technicians, and evaluators) to provide for and maintain an ongoing programme of radio education in a wide variety of subject areas for many different audiences of varying ages and interests.

The project has been a joint venture of the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Communication through Radio Nepal, and the Institute of Education. It has recently been made a formal entity within

the curriculum, text book, supervision development centre of the Ministry of Education and Culture with full cooperation of Radio Nepal for actual broadcasting.

The curriculum designed for the teachers enrolled in this programme stressed the process of learning and teaching and the relevant skills and attitudes important in assisting their pupils complete the prescribed curriculum for grades one, two or three. In addition, it had to include topics which would enable to rural teachers to function more effectively as an "educated person", innovator and change agent. Individual radio-scripts and the accompanying self-instruction materials were prepared to reflect this curriculum with units in education, Nepali language, arts, social studies, mathematics, rural development, health art and physical education. The basic pattern of each one hour broadcast consisted of twenty minute sections covering a given content area separated by one twenty-five minutes session of a more informal nature including music, questions and answers based on letters received, dramas, general information, and non-formal sessions for adult listeners in health, agriculture and current events. In addition to listening to the hour programme, each enrolled was expected to read a related lesson from the self-instruction book. Thus the programme required about two-hours of work a day, five days a week for approximately ten months. During the developmental year of 1979-80 sufficient materials were prepared to start broadcasting in August of 1980. At first there was only one broadcast a week. This was increased to two, then gradually to five a week.

In the years ahead it will be possible to expand the educational programmes to include both credit and non-credit courses in such areas as adult literacy, health, agriculture, child care and nutrition, population education, rural development and topics as requested by various groups within Nepal. Teachers have expressed opinion that they are teaching better as a result of the programme and independent observers have noted that they are actually using new methods of teaching that they have learned through the programme.

#### Concluding Remarks and Some Recommendations

Communication media are the product of modern industrial society which is essentially urbanised and enjoys a high degree of literate culture. Europe has a well developed 'mass communication system' the proportion of which is still unmatched in this part of the world. "A modern communication system involves two stages or levels. The first is that of the highly organized, explicitly structured mass-media, the second is that of the informal opinion leaders who communicate on a face-to-face basis, much as communicators did in traditional systems" ... its critical feature is "that orderly relationship exist between the two levels so that the total process of communications has been aptly characterized as involving a "two step flow" and "above all, the interactions between the two levels take the form of establishing "feed back" mechanisms which produce adjustment in the content and the flow of different forms of messages." In the arena of models of communication system

Nepal can be termed as in a transitional phase; Lucian W. Pye's (1972: 24-29) observations aptly apply in Nepal's Case too. In a transitional system among many other problems the "more serious problem is the lack of specialized opinion leaders capable of sifting the messages of the mass media system and drawing attention to matters of special interest to particular audiences. Instead those in key positions in the face-to-face systems usually are more like the activists in the traditional system, and hence their special skills lie in expanding upon limited information rather than in selecting from a voluminous flow of communication.

The concept of a dominant media network is conspicuous by its absence in societies where spoken words predominate as the main source of communication. The all pervasive media environment of the west contrasts very well with the extensive nature of the urban centred media catering to the tiny segment of the entire population. In the developing countries, the pockets of urbanised, literate, aspiring and achieving population which constitute the audience of communication media seem like islands in a sea of apathy, ignorance and poverty. Hence the scope of communication media is confined to a few urban centres hardly constituting about 10 percent of total population of the country, with the result that the media environment is felt by thin and tiny population.

The Nepalese communication media suffers from stiffly concentrations within the confines of Kathmandu Valley. Inaccessible surrounding mountains and stupendous illiteracy of about 75 percent in the villages effectively separate the media environment of Kathmandu Valley from the rest of the country. 21 (twenty-one) dailies and over 30 (thirty) weeklies are published from the capital (Royal Press Commission 1981: 129-130). (Now the numbers have increased),<sup>3</sup> but their size and coverage apart from government owned dailies is as meagre as the corresponding reading public. They do not reach out in the people for they are competition shy. "The media as a class has been more concerned to secure benefits, government handouts and subsidies rather than help develop the reading public and sell itself through improved coverage and reporting (Royal Press Commission 1981: 63).

Very little differences can be observed in the case of broadcasting media of the South Asian Region. In view of direct reach of broadcasting to the masses transcending literacy and natural barrier of distance and topography broadcasting has remained a solid instrument of the government in power. The broadcasting media carry the news Mutatis Mutandis from the national news agencies and overseas channels as in the case with the printed media. The following observation has been aptly made.

"The emphasis on preserving the heritage of the past particularly affects the government owned media. Hence the content analysis of any broadcasting channel gives the unmistakable impression that retaining the status quo is an overwhelming bias of such network. Features like talks, discussion, dramas and even songs carry very little that is stimulating to rouse the people to thought and action. The government owned broadcasting media not only emphasise personalities over the news values

but also deemphasise the representation of alternative ideas (Upadhyay 1981: 36-37).

For the developing countries the problem of reconstruction is the overriding concern. Successive development plans have well emphasised the lack of wider and comprehensive commitment towards the plan objective. It calls for increased socio-political and economic activities on the part of rural masses. The significance of communication media to enlist increased participation in the socio-economic transformation has been increasingly realised. The media are involved to generate social awareness amongst the far flung rural people. In the developing countries, the media have to cater to the taste of urbanites who form the dominant audience as well as reorient their coverage to reach the villages and create sustained readership there.

#### Some Recommendations

- a. Mass media should be geared to arouse development consciousness. In the process of national development, it is the responsibility of planners and media men to chalk out a course of action and form strategy in order to make the best use of existing media as well as to develop the infrastructure of communications for creating development consciousness among the masses.
- b. The feed-back process is very essential particularly in broadcasting services. The survey can be utilized for the betterment of programmes by correcting the current defects and flows. The feedback information of the entire communication operation can be collected by various methods viz. sample Readership and Audience surveys, complaint boxes suggestion boxes etc.
- c. Keeping in view the potentiality of the various folk forms, the folk media should be integrated with all mass communication services in order to achieve optimum impact. An integrated use of traditional media can achieve greater success in developments, campaigns as well as in the cultural development of masses. Dr. Everett M. Rogers, Professor of Journalism at the University of Michigan, U.S.A. has aptly pointed out, "The Traditional media have a great potential in achieving development goals because they have a wide audience and high credibility in the eyes of villagers."
- d. The establishment of a permanent "Training Unit" to impart training courses for specific groups of journalists, reporter, broadcasters, information officers etc under the information department should be considered.
- e. The status of the profession of journalism should be raised through a more systematic, regular training, better facilities and greater assistance to the journalists in the performance of their work.

In a traditional society, the urge to change for better is very much essential in the unfolding of development process. Mass media is very much helpful in eradicating worn-out biases, pre-conceived notions and superstitions that impede the pace of progress. In fact mass media helps create the desire to change for good and brings about new conditions in the society by "planting the seed of change" in the minds of men.

In a developing society, an essential service like the communications must be fully utilized for the prime purpose of development activities. And in developing countries, what is termed as, "development journalism" is also taking shape. A Filipino Journalist, Eduardo Lachica thus defined "development journalism."

"Development journalism at its best is a rational, independent thorough enquiry into the problems and conditions of a developing country written in a way that makes them readily understandable to the citizens of that country."

#### NOTES

1. The Gorkhapatra (1901) and Rising Nepal an English daily (1964) both are government controlled dailies. They have wide coverages of both national and international news. The coverage of the latter being relatively extensive in Rising Nepal. The daily publication of the former is approximately 30,000 (Thirty Thousand) copies, whereas the latter amounts to 10,000 (Ten Thousand) copies.
2. On 25th November 1981 agreement on Medium Wave was signed between His Majesty's Government of Nepal and Government of Japan. According to this agreement medium wave transmitter of 100 KW capacity each will be set up in Lalitpur and Pokhara. By medium wave broadcasting service can be extended to 55 percent of the total population of Nepal.
3. The Rising Nepal, March 23rd 1983 in Column Newsroom chatter sarcastically remarks - At the moment of going to the press there are about 314 registered journals in the kingdom. Of these there are over a hundred dailies in the Capital alone. This flash flood of news-pulp has inundated just about every body. ... At the side walk newsstands, the front pages of hundred tabloids reveal a spectrum of assorted hues.

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## कर्णाली-प्रदेशको मध्यकालीन इतिहासमा छत्तीसकर

१.० विषय प्रवेश

पूर्णप्रकाश नेपाल 'यात्री'\*

१.१ परिभाषा

प्रस्तुत सन्दर्भमा कर्णाली-प्रदेशको मध्यकालीन इतिहासमा छत्तीसकर भन्ने आर्थिक विषयको क्लृप्त गरिन्छ । कर्णाली-प्रदेशको मात्र नभनौं ज्ञात भएसम्म नेपालको मध्यकालीन इतिहासमा छत्तीसकर प्रचलनमा थियो भन्ने आभास पाइन्छ<sup>१</sup> । हुन ता व्यापक अन्वेषण-पश्चात् यस प्रकारका आर्थिक आधारहरू अरु कतिपय होलान् तथापि अद्यावधि प्राप्त गरिएका मध्य 'छत्तीसकर' कर्णाली-प्रदेशको मध्यकालीन आर्थिक प्रशासन प्रणालीमा बहु-व्यावहारिक रहेको देखिन्छ<sup>२</sup> । छत्तीसकर भन्नाले उठती पुठती राजस्व करहरू अर्थात् राज्यका आम्दानी स्रोतका भाग, मोग, कर जस्ता त्रिकर स्रोतबाट राष्ट्रिय ढुङ्गुटीमा जम्मा हुन आउने आय स्रोत भन्ने अर्थ गर्न सकिन्छ<sup>३</sup> । छत्तीसकर भनेर संख्या तोकेको हुनाले उन्नत राज्यले आफ्ना नागरिकमा, भूमिमा र आयात-निर्यातमा करको रूपमा लागु गरिएका 'त्रिकर' भित्रका अर्थ बोधक संख्या हुन् भन्ने बुझिन्छ<sup>४</sup> र यस्ता स्रोतहरू लगभग छत्तीस प्रकारका क्रियमाण थिए भन्ने समेत बुझ्न पाइन्छ । निर्धारित संख्या भन्दा बाहिर विकल्पमा थप हुने सम्भावना नहुँदा नै संख्या तोकिएको होला भन्ने अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ<sup>५</sup> । तसर्थ प्रस्तुत प्रसंग कर्णाली-प्रदेशको मध्यकालीन इतिहासमा महत्वपूर्ण स्थान राख्ने आर्थिक प्रसंगमा प्रतिबद्ध रहेको छ ।

१.२ परम्परित तथा सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्धः

१.२.१ परम्परासंग सम्बन्धः

छत्तीस प्रकारका करको विवरण जान्नु भन्दा पहिले हिन्दू संस्कृतिभित्र परम्परामा आधारित र संस्कृतिमा आधारित केही तथ्यतर्फ<sup>६</sup> इंगित गर्नु समीचीन हुनेछ । पुराण परम्परामा 'छत्तीस' शब्द लक्षणात्मक अर्थमा प्रयोग भएको छ<sup>७</sup> । जस्तो मानवीय उदात्तताका परिचायक गुण र लक्षणाको उल्लेख गर्दा छत्तीस शब्दको व्यवहार गरिएको छ<sup>८</sup> । छत्तीस लक्षणाहरू युक्त मान्छे मुस्किलले लाखमा एक हुन सक्छ । त्यसै हेतु ज्योतिषको बरबधु मिलापक प्रसंगमा छत्तीस शब्दलाई उत्तमोत्तम अर्थमा ग्रहण गरेको देख्न पाइन्छ । भक्तिसाहित्यमा पनि छत्तीसको एक पाठ 'नौ' लाई महत्व दिएर नवधा भक्ति संज्ञाले छत्तीस शब्दप्रति मधुर संकेत गरिएको छ<sup>९</sup> । जाग्रत, स्वप्न, सुषुप्ति र मृतावस्था जस्ता भेदले छत्तीस समष्टिमा बाँध्ने प्रयास हुनु पर्छ यो/सृष्टिका प्रकारहरू पनि यसरी नै गुणित हुँदै जान्छन्<sup>१०</sup> ।

\*श्री 'यात्री' जी यस केन्द्रका उपप्राध्यापक हुनुहुन्छ ।



८२ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम १०, नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२। जुन ८३)

यसबाट यस्तो विगबोध हुन्छ हिन्दू परम्परा र संस्कृतिमा यस कृत्तीस शब्दको स्थान महत्वपूर्ण रहि आएको छ । यसै परम्पराको अनुशरण गर्दै मध्यकालीन राज्य-सत्तामा कृत्तीस संख्या लक्षाणावाची सिद्ध भएको हुनुपर्छ ।

यो तर्क विश्वको हिन्दू समाजका निम्ति पनि हुन सक्ला । तर यसले सबै धर्मको प्रति-निधित्व भने गरेको बुझिदैन । तसर्थ कुनै पनि धर्म र जातीय बन्धनले नबाँधिएको ज्योतिष-विज्ञानको प्रयोगबारे केही चर्चा गर्नु वाँझनीय हुनेछ - ज्योतिषशास्त्रको सर्वान्तिम ह्द-संख्या '३' देखिन्छ । जस्तो गुण, राम, लोक, अम्र, नेत्र, गण, नाडी, स्वभाव आदि शब्द-गणनाहरू '३' का अर्थबोधक मानिएका छन् । यसरी यी प्रत्येकलाई त्रिगुणित-रज्जु गदा '६' हुन्छ र उपर्युक्त अवस्था भेदले यसलाई चौगुणा गदा '३६' हुन्छ । ज्योतिष-विज्ञानको संख्यामाको '३' पक्षको ठूलो पीठाधार संख्या '१२' देखिन्छ<sup>१०</sup> । कालक्रमानुसार यी संख्याहरू पनि त्रिगुणित-रज्जु गरिएर '३६' मा पु-याइएका छन् । यसरी सबै थरीको शिर्षस्थ संख्या कृत्तीस पुग्न जान्छ ।

ज्योतिषको फलाध्याय-खण्डमा ग्रहगौचरको परिभ्रमण संख्या चुल्याउंदा योगीनी, त्रिमागी, अष्टोत्तरी, वींशोत्तरी आदि भेदले १६, ७२ र १०८ अपरिवर्त्य गराइएका छन् । कृत्तीसको त्रिगुणित संख्यामा बाह्र प्रकारका मारकेशहरूको स्थिति योग गदा योगसंख्या १२० हुने आधार मानेर नै ज्योतिषले मानिसका पूर्णायुको निरूपण गदा १२० वर्ष गरेको अनु-भव हुन्छ ।

ज्योतिषको अर्थपूर्ण व्यवहार गरिने पदामा फलाध्याय पक्षको महत्वपूर्ण अंश मेलापक प्रकरण हो जसको चर्चा पहिले गरिएको छ । यसमा पनि विम्ब र प्रतिविम्ब जस्ता लाघवादि भेदले गदा लाक्षाणिक अर्थात् यसको योग पनि कृत्तीस पुग्दछ । जस्तो गुणो-चित विम्ब संख्या १६ लाई बर-बधुका सकुलीन योग १६ मा योग गदा योग संख्या ३२ पुग्दछ । यस संख्यालाई 'बत्तीस गुन' मानिन्छ । यसमा पूर्वोक्त चार अवस्था युक्त हुंदा पूर्णयोग '३६' पुग्दछ । त्यसैले मेलापकको सर्वोत्तम गुण-सीमा कृत्तीस हुंदा लोकमा लक्षाण बोधक शब्द 'कृत्तीस' लच्छिनले जुक्त 'अकाद्य एवं सार्वकालीन र सर्वप्रिय बनिएको हुनु पर्छ' । बश, ज्योति-षको प्रयोग माफत् परम्परासंगको सम्बन्धबारे मोटामोटी जानकारी प्राप्त गरेपछि जन-जाति र समाजका ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठमा कृत्तीसको के सम्बन्ध छ तत्सम्बन्धमा पनि संक्षिप्त प्रकाश पार्नु कर्तव्य भएको छ ।

१.२.२ जनजाति र सामाजिक इतिहासमा कृत्तीसको महत्व:

यस प्रसंगमा नेपालभित्रको प्रयोगबारे मात्र प्रकाश पारिन्छ । नेपालको जनजाति र समाजको ऐतिहासिक मीमांशा गदा कृत्तीसलाई विशेष महत्व दिएको पाइन्छ । वस्तुतः कर्णाली-प्रदेशका सशराजाहरूले रचनात्मक कार्यको विस्तारसँगै बाढोमयिक सन्दर्भमा समेत कृत्तीस शब्दलाई सुरुचिपूर्ण प्राथमिकता दिएका छन्<sup>११</sup> । जस्तो रचनात्मक कार्यको विस्तार

तत्प्रसंगमा गढसंख्या ३६, थपुसंख्या ३६ र दरासंख्या ३६ दोत्रीय इकाइ बुझाउने अर्थमा प्रयुक्त थिए भने वाडोमयिक सन्दर्भमा कृतीस नगरा, कृतीस परिकार, कृतीस व्यजन मननीय देखिएका छन्<sup>११</sup> । त्यस्तै काठमाडौं उपत्यकाका मल्लराजाहरूले समाजका जाति प्रजातिको संख्या १८ र आर्थिक स्रोतका आधारसंख्या समेत कृतीस मानेका थिए भन्ने आभास मिल्दछ<sup>१२</sup> । नव नेपालका निर्माता श्री ५ महाराजाधिराज पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले त यस देशलाई चार वर्ण कृतीस जातको साम्राज्य फूलबारी मानेका छन्<sup>१३</sup> । यसरी नेपालको जनजाति र समाज संस्कृति जस्ता सन्दर्भमा कृतीस शब्द प्रासंगिक हुन आएको बुझिन्छ ।

वस्तुतस्तु: यी पूर्वोक्त प्रयोगहरूले के सिद्ध गराउन खोजेको अनुभव हुन्छ भने मानव विकासको परिपृष्ठमा कृतीस शब्द लाक्षणिक अर्थमा प्रयोग हुँदै अभिन्न रही आएको छ र मानवीय प्रयोजनका विविध पदामा समेत यस संख्याको अर्थपूर्ण प्रयोग हुने गर्छ । यसो सोफो हिंसाको हेर्दा कृतीस शब्दको शाब्दिक अर्थ अति सामान्य जस्तो अनुभव भए तापनि लाक्षणिक अर्थ अत्यन्त गहन एवं अर्थपूर्ण रहेछ भन्ने शाश्वतबोध हुन्छ । यसरी पारिभाषिक अर्थमा कृतीस शब्दको व्यापकता बाह्रौं सौदामिनी प्रयास पारेपछि सन्दर्भगत विषयमाथि विवेचनात्मक प्रकाश पार्नु समीचीन हुनेछ ।

२.० कृतीसकर:

२.१ कर्णाली-प्रदेशको मध्यकालीन आर्थिक इतिहासमा कृतीसकर:-

हुन ता काठमाडौंका मल्लराजाहरूले पनि आफ्नो शासनकालमा कृतीस शब्दलाई महत्त्व दिएका थिए भन्ने आभास मिल्दछ<sup>१४</sup> । तथापि कर्णाली-प्रदेशको आर्थिक व्यवस्थामा भने राम्ररी प्रयोग गरिन्थ्यो भन्ने अनुभव हुन्छ । प्रारम्भमा लिखित स्याहा-भेस्ता राख्ने प्रचलन कस्तो थियो त्यस सम्बन्धमा तत्काल यकीन गर्न सकिँदैन । यद्यपि लिखित प्रमाणहरू पाइएसम्म यसोका अभिलेखादि प्रमाणमाफैले भने कृतीसकरको प्रयोग व्यवहारमा कायम थियो भन्ने बुझिन्छ<sup>१५</sup> । यद्यपि यस सम्बन्धी प्रस्तुत खोज प्रारम्भिक जस्तो हुनाले यसबाट आशानुक्कल प्रकाश पर्छ भन्न गाह्यो पर्दछ । यसरी यो प्रसंग जटिल हुन आएको छ । तापनि आफ्नो आर्थिक इतिहासमा चाख राख्ने विद्वान अन्वेषकहरूलाई थोरबहुत योगदान पु-याउला भन्ने अपेक्षा राख्नु युक्तिसंगत हुनेछ । यसर्थ प्रस्तुत प्रसंगमा रौचिरा क्लफल गर्न लाभदायक हुनसक्छ ।

प्राचीनकालमा पूर्वीय संसारमा आफ्नै प्रकारको अर्थ व्यवस्था कायम थियो भन्ने जानकारी सर्वोत्तम प्रमा कौटिल्यको अर्थशास्त्र मानिएको छ । यसबाट आचार्य विष्णुगुप्त तत्कालीन अर्थ व्यवस्थाका सूत्रधार मात्र होइन नीतिनिर्धारक नै थिए भन्नुपर्ने हुन्छ । आचार्य विष्णुगुप्त पछि आफ्नै प्रकारका अर्थ व्यवस्थाको प्रतिपादन लिच्छविकहरूले गरेको पूर्वाभास पूर्वोक्त प्रमाण परिमेयको चर्चाबाट भएको छ<sup>१६</sup> । त्यसपछि कर्णाली-प्रदेशका खशराजाहरूले पूर्वमध्यकालदेखि गर्दै आएका शासन अवधिबीच के कसरी अर्थनीतिको प्रतिपादन गरी आएका

८४ सि एन ए एस जनै, मोलम १०, नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२। जुन ८३)

धिए त्यो कुरा प्रायः अज्ञात अवस्थामा रहेको अनुभव हुन्छ तापनि किटान साथ भएको प्रमाणमध्ये प्राप्त प्रमाणको आधारमा-पहिलो हो सशसम्राट पृथ्वीमल्लको शाके १२७८ को कनकपत्र<sup>१३</sup> यसमा लगभग पच्चीस जति करकानामै उल्लेख गरी अफ-अगाडि गएर स्पष्ट रूपमा 'समे हत्तीस कर ह्याही' उल्लेख गरेकोले राम्ररी शंका निवारण गरेको ठानिन्छ । त्यसपछि दोश्रो प्रमाण सिजाका राजा सूर्यमल्लद्वारा जूठादेउ जोशीलाई गरि दिएको शाके १२८६ को ताम्रपत्रमा हत्तीसकर सम्बन्धी उल्लेख भएको छ<sup>१४</sup> । यस आधारबाट हेरी मनन गर्दा मध्यकाल-मा हत्तीसकर विकसित अवस्थामा थियो ।

प्राचीनकालीन कणाली-प्रदेशको अर्थ व्यवस्थाको प्रारूप अज्ञात अवस्थामा रहेको अनुभव भए तापनि मध्यकालीन राज्य-वित्त प्रबन्धमाथि हत्तीसकरले राम्ररी प्रकाश पार्ने अपेक्षा रहन्छ । यसका साथै अनेक प्रकारका कर तथा आयस्रोतको विश्लेषण गरी ठोस कुरा पत्ता लगाउनमा समेत उचित योगदान दिन सक्ने सम्भावनालाई पनि उपेक्षा गर्न मिल्दैन । यस आधारबाट यसभित्रका मर्महरू क्लेशलाई राम्ररी मनन गर्दै जाने हो भने बोधगम्य हुनेछ जुन जुन चोत्रमा जे जस्ता उत्पादन र प्रचलनले-प्रमुखस्थान ओगटेको छ तत्तत्स्थानमा तदनुकूल कर निर्धारण गरिँदा रहेछन् भन्ने उदाहरणहरू पर्याप्त पाइने छन् । तसर्थ मध्यकालमा कणाली-प्रदेशमा 'हत्तीसकर' राज्य-वित्त प्रबन्धको मेरुदण्ड नै थियो भन्न मिल्दछ । यस कुराको पुष्टि शाके १३२० को मेदिनीवर्मा र बलिराजको संयुक्त ताम्रशासनपत्रबाट भएको प्रतीति मिल्दछ<sup>१५</sup> ।

यी चर्चित प्रमाणमाफत एकच्छत्र-सिजा शासित सशराज्यका सम्बन्धमा थोरै बहुत प्रकाश परेको अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । यसपछि हेर्नु छ एकच्छत्र सशसाम्राज्य टुटेपछि अनेकतातर्फ अभिमुख सशराज्यहरूमा हत्तीसकरको प्रचलन रहेको थियो अथवा थिएन त्यसको जानकारी पाउनु आवश्यक छ । एकच्छत्र सिजा शासित कणाली-प्रदेश बाहेक अन्य करद सशराजाहरूमा रास-कोटका राजा मलयवर्माको नामांकित त्रिलोकवर्माद्वारा प्रसारित शाके १३११ को ताम्रपत्रमा हत्तीसकरसम्बन्धी चर्चा चलेको पाइन्छ<sup>१६</sup> । यसमा शाके १३२० को प्रमाणको पहिले चर्चा गरेर शाके १३११ को प्रमाणको चर्चा पछि गर्नुको कारण-बारे पनि केही कुरा स्पष्ट पार्नु उचित होला ।

शाके १३०६ मा मल्लकालको अन्त भए तापनि एकच्छत्र सिजा अफ केही वर्ष कायमै रह्यो । सम्राट अयमल्लको उत्तराधिकारमा मेदिनीवर्मा र बलिराजले मिलेर केही वर्ष एकच्छत्र सिजाको शासन चलाए । शाके १३२५ पछि पूर्वको एकता कायम रहन सकेन र अनेक-ताको सिर्जना भयो<sup>१७</sup> । रासकोट, बफाडो, अहम, डोटी आदि राज्यहरू सश-साम्राज्यका करद राज्य हुन् जो मल्लकालपछि स्वाधीन हुँदै गए । त्यस अर्थमा पूर्व चर्चित (त्रिलोक वर्माको अभिलेख विलासपुर देखि) राज्यबाट स्वर्गीत बाबुराजा मलयवर्माको नामांकित गरी पछि प्रसारण गरिएको हो<sup>१८</sup> ।

कणाली-प्रदेशका करद-राज्य मध्ये अहमका राजा उदयव्रत रायका केही अभिलेख प्रमाणहस्ता कृत्तीसकरको उल्लेख भएको छ<sup>१६</sup> । त्यस्तै बफाडोका राजा शक्तिव्रत राउला सोनव्रत राउलाको शाके १३६८ को ताम्रपत्रमा कृत्तीसकरको उल्लेख भएको छ<sup>२०</sup> । एकच्छत्र सिजापक्षिको जुम्ला-क्षिनासिम राज्यका राजा भानसाही सिलमसाहीको शाके १५०६ को अभिलेखमा पनि कृत्तीसकरको उल्लेख छ<sup>२१</sup> । शिवपुरी-मुगुका राजा गगनिराजको यात्रा प्रसंगमा पनि कृत्तीसकरका पारिभाषिक शब्द र करका प्रकारहरूको चर्चा भएको छ<sup>२२</sup> । शाके १५७१ मा डोटीका राजा पहाडी शाहीद्वारा प्रसारित लालमोहरमा पनि कृत्तीसकरको संकेत पाइएको छ<sup>२२</sup> ।

मध्यकालमा यसरी देखा परेका कृत्तीसकर सम्बन्धी प्रयोगहरू अरु पनि पाइने सम्भावना छ । यसबाट ज्ञात हुन्छ पुरै मध्यकालको राज्य-वित्त प्रबन्धमा कृत्तीसकरको व्यापक भूमिका रहेको थियो । अरु केही अवशेष त आधुनिक कालमा समेत थियो भन्न सकिन्छ<sup>२३</sup> र यिनै प्रयोगहरूको निकैवै माफत मध्यकालीन अर्थव्यवस्थाको पुष्कल रूप नियाल्न सकिन्छ ।

२.२ कृत्तीसकरका प्रकार तथा शाब्दिक व्याख्या:

मध्यकालीन कणाली-प्रदेशका प्रायः राजा महाराजाहरूले आफ्ना कार्यकालमा राज्यवित्त प्रबन्धमा कृत्तीसकर प्रचलनमा ल्याएका विवरणको मोटामोटी सूचना पारपक्षि यो कृत्तीस प्रकारका करको प्रकार उल्लेख गरी शाब्दिक व्याख्या गर्ने प्रयोजन पर्दछ । अतएव सर्व-प्रथम कृत्तीसकर के के हुन् तिनको नाम दिनु कर्तव्य भएको छ । नाम यस प्रकार छन्:- (१) आकाशको फलमा लाग्ने पातालको निधामा लाग्ने कर (२) हिलपानी धूल स्याउली (३) चेली चवै उल्जो मैलो (४) साउन्त्या-बिराउन्त्या (५) बिरोल्या-बदारो (६) फारो बेगारो (७) दशै (८) श्राद्ध (९) तिहार (१०) भुवानी-खुवानी (११) स्याफल (१२) कूत (१३) जिउ-ज्यान (१४) कुरिया कर (१५) मौनी-मानु (१६) मुठी (१७) दुवायो (१८) पीठायो (१९) मोड-अपुताली (२०) मुडाली (२१) पेटाली (२२) नाट-नटाली (२३) सिक-धान्नी (२४) अस्मानी (२५) चैतो-चुमाउनी (२६) गोड धुवानी (२७) गडाली-पुताली (२८) शितो-सेमा (२९) वलक-पेटो (३०) अनिया-चनिया (३१) लेककी इजडी (३२) गाडकी बगडी (३३) चोरी (३४) जारी (३५) फाँप्या गुफ्या (३६) कृत्तीसो बत्तीसो ।

यी प्रयोगहरू पहिलेदेखि नै आएका प्रयोग हुन् भन्ने अनुमान हुन्छ । यिनै प्रयोगहरू उत्तर मध्यकालमा आएर अंशतः भेद राख्नु हुन् । अनि स्थानभेदको प्रभाव पनि केही अंशमा परेको देखिन्छ । उत्तर मध्यकालमा देखा परेका केही भेदहरू:- (१) दण्डकुंड (२) कर (३) कुडितो (४) उइडो (५) उहेरो (६) कुप्परदाम (७) खो (८) सुठो (९) कटक कुंड (१०) सेवा (११) धारा अथवा पान-पन्याउली (१२) रोपाइरो (१३) पासो वा सेमा (१४) फुलो (१५) मौनी-चौनी (१६) बेसौती-कर (१७) फदा-फासा (१८) खोपका (१९) मैलो-भुवो (२०) प्याजखानी (२१) राजखानी (२२) शितला इत्यादि यी भेदहरू नाम परिवर्तन भएर आएका भेद हुन् संख्यावृद्धिका ध्येयले बढाइएका करभेद होइनन् ।

८६ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम १०, नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२/जुन ८३)

यी प्रयोगको पुरातन किटान गर्न गाहारो छ । यसो कहिलेसम्म प्रयोगमा रहेहोलान् मन्न पनि सोच्ने पर्ने हुन्छ । तथापि प्राप्त प्रमाणलाई आधार मान्दा त्यही शाके १२७८ देखि अर्थात् विक्रमको चौधौं शताब्दीदेखि बीसौं शताब्दीको प्रारम्भसम्म कायम रहेको अनुमान लाउन सकिन्छ । किनभने सम्बत १६०५ तिर मुलुकी ऐनको प्रकाशनपछि उक्त शीर्षकहरू प्रायः लोप रहेजस्तो लाग्छ ।

यस प्रयोगमाथि विचार गर्न आवश्यक कुरा के छ भने बाईसी चौबीसी र मल्लराज्यहरूमा आफ्ना आफ्ना हिसाबले प्रयोग गरिन्थ्यो कि भन्ने सन्देह गर्न सकिन्छ । कारण एकै प्रकारको करको परिमाणामा अन्तर देखिएको छ । जस्तो गडाली पुताली र बिराउने रोपाइरो । यी दुवै शब्दको अर्थपरक प्रयोजन प्रायः समान बुझिन्छ । गडाली भन्नाले नदी अथवा खोला किनारामा रहेको खोलाखेत (गडाजिउली) लाई बुझाउँछ अथवा त्यसमन्दा करीम फरकमा त्यस्ता नदी अथवा खोलाकिनाराका जग्गाहरू पासो, सरहमा रही सेर्मा लागि आएका अवस्थामा हुन् भने त्यस्ता जग्गाहरू बिराई पानीखेत बनाउँदा लाग्ने पानीपोतसम्बन्धी कर भन्ने जनिन सक्छ भने त्यसै अर्थको प्रयोजन 'बिराउने' ले पूरा गरेको अनुभव हुन्छ । त्यस्तै पुताली र रोपाइरोको शाब्दिक परिमाणा पनि मिल्दोजुल्दो बुझिन्छ । त्यसरी नै 'गाडकी बगडी' र 'दहत्तरबहत्तर' को शाब्दिक परिमाणामाथि विहंगम दृष्टि दिँदा पनि अन्तमा मेल खान्छ ।

अन्ततोगत्वा कृषिकर्म, पशुधन र आन्तरिक व्यापारमा लागु भएको 'हत्तीसकर' मध्यकालीन कणाली-प्रदेशको आर्थिक इतिहासको मेरुदण्ड नै थियो भन्ने आभास मिल्ने हुँदा उक्त प्रत्येक शीर्षकको शाब्दिक परिमाणा र संक्षिप्त व्याख्या गर्नु कर्तव्य हुन जान्छ । जसमध्ये कतिपय शीर्षक त वर्तमान राष्ट्रिय अर्थव्यवस्थाका आधारभूत रहेका हुन् भने आश्चर्य मान्नु हैन । तसर्थ शब्दार्थ प्रयोजनमाफत सम्यक नवोन्मेषकै परिपूर्तिका लागि पनि शाब्दिक परिमाणाको महत्वमाथि प्रकाश पार्नु परम कर्तव्य हुन आउँछ ।

प्रकारको उल्लेख भयो । हत्तीसकरको शाब्दिक अर्थ हुन्छ- राज्यमा लागु रहेका हत्तीस प्रकारका राजस्वका स्रोत अथवा राष्ट्रिय ढिकुटीमा जम्मा गर्नु बुझाउनु पर्ने तिरो रकम-क्लम आदि भन्ने जनिन्छ । राज्य भेस्ताको प्रयोगको मर्म अनुमान गर्दा ती प्रयोक्ताहरू निस्सन्देह सम्य थिए भन्ने फलक मिल्दछ । एतावता यी सबैको मुख्य ध्येयको शाब्दिक परिमाणामाथि प्रकाश पार्ने जमर्को गरौं:-

१. दंडकुंड अथवा बिराल्या बदारी = न्यायिक सुधारात्मक दृष्टिले गरिने उचित दण्डको प्रतिशत ।
२. कर अथवा वलक-पेटो = करद-राज्यले आफूभन्दा माथिका ठूला राज्यलाई बुझाउनु पर्ने शितौँकि अनि उद्योग व्यवसाय र उत्पादनमाथि लाग्ने कर ।
३. कुडितो अथवा अनिया चर्निया = खचौरी रकम (सम्भाव्य) ।

४. उइँडो अथवा मौनी-मानू = संकटकालीन अवस्थामा अध्यादेशद्वारा लगाइने सुरक्षाकर।
५. उहेरो अथवा अस्मानी = सम्भवतः ओहरो अथवा घट्टमा लाग्ने कर।
६. कम्परदाम अथवा नाट नटाली = उत्सव समारोह, भोज मतेर आदिमा पण्डाल  
ध्याडो अथवा ठूला अस्थायी क्वाप्राहरू निमाणि गर्नु प-यो भने सरकार साधेर गरिँदा  
लाग्ने कर।
७. ख्वो अथवा भुवानी ख्वानी = ख्वा उत्पादन गरेमा वा ख्वासम्बन्धी व्यवसाय गरेमा  
लाग्ने कर।
८. सुठो अथवा सिकघान्नी = अदुवा अथवा तज्जन्य औषधोपयोगी कृषिजन्य उद्योगमा  
लाग्ने कर।
९. कटककुँड अथवा मुडाली = अर्को देशले आफ्नो देशमाथि आक्रमण गरेको अवस्थामा  
आमनागरिकले उठाउनु पर्ने युद्धखर्च। दोस्रो = दामल हुने अपराधमा लाग्ने दण्डको  
प्रतिशत रकम।
१०. सेवा अथवा दुवायो पीठायो = राज्यका नागरिकले कुनै स्थायी पेशा गरेकोमा पेशा  
अथवा व्यवसायमाथि लाग्ने कर।
११. धारा अथवा पान पन्याउली अथवा भ्याप्या गुफ्या = खाने पानी र सार्वजनिक  
धारा कुवा पोखरी बनाउनमा, संरक्षण गर्नुमा लाग्ने कर।
१२. रोपाहरो अथवा गडाली पुताली = पानीपोत अथवा गडामा लाग्ने कर।
१३. जिउज्यान = दोपाया चौपाया निकाशी पैठारीमा लाग्ने कर।
१४. कुरियाकर = घर धुरीमा लाग्ने कर (धुरीसाँफा)।
१५. आकाशकी ढीट पातालकी निध अथवा आकाशको फल तथा पातालको निधि = आकाश-  
मार्गको उपयोग गरेबापत लाग्ने, चरा चुङ्गीको शिकार गरेबापत लाग्ने र कल्याणधन  
अथवा गाढघन (जमीनमुनि गाडेको धन) फेला परेमा अथवा कुनै खानी संचालन गरी  
खनिजसम्पदाको उपयोग गरेमा वा व्यवसाय गरेमा लाग्ने कर।
१६. मोड.अपुताली = मरी अपुताली, हकदार नभएको सम्पत्ति सम्बन्धी।
१७. पैटाली = बेवारिसे बालक जन्माएमा त्यस्ती आमाले तिर्नु बुझाउनु पर्ने कर।
१८. हिलिपानी धूलस्याउली = अन्या चर्निया सरह (सम्भाव्य)।
१९. केलीचवै = विवाहकर (सम्भाव्य)।
२०. उल्जोमैलो = बेवारिसे मृतकको सस्कार गर्दा लाग्ने र आमनागरिकले तिर्नु बुझाउनु  
पर्ने मृत्युकर।
२१. साउन्त्या बिराउन्त्या अथवा पीठायो पोडलो = साउनेती र चैतेती नामक करहरू  
दोस्रो शब्दमा 'बाली' भनिन्छ।

८८ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम १०, नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२। जुन ८३)

२२. फारो-बेगारो अथवा बेठ बाउरो = बेठ बेगारी, बिना ज्यालामा काम लगाउने किसिम अथवा श्रमिकद्वारा असुल उपर गरिने कर (बेठी खेतालो) ।
२३. दशै = दशै जस्ता चाड-पर्वमा नागरिकले राजाकहाँ पु-याइने सौगात एवं मान्य जन-कहाँ जाँदा हातस्वमाउ लैजाने सिसार ।
२४. श्राद्ध अथवा दुबाउनी चुमाउनी = राजदरबारमा श्राद्ध अथवा जन्म दिवसका उपलक्ष्यमा, जातक जन्मेमा, ह्योरीको विवाह गरेमा नागरिकले राजपरिवारमा तिर्नु बुझाउनु पर्ने कर ।
२५. तिहार अथवा मेलोफुलो = तिहार जस्ता चाड-पर्वमा स्वेच्छाले आयोजना गर्न सकिने मनोरंजन, खेल तमाशा, पिडो आदि मनोविनोदात्मक खेल आदिमा लाग्ने, फूल कस्तुरी आदि सुगन्धित द्रव्य बुझाउदा असुल गरिने कर विशेष । मेलोफुलो भनेको घाँसका लागि सुरक्षाित राखेको जग्गाको कर बापत बुझाउनु पर्ने एक फुलो घाँस वा त्यसको सट्टामा बुझाउने चुनदाम विशेष ।
२६. चैतो-चुमाउनी अथवा चौनी मौनी = फलफूल उत्पादन र निर्यातिमा, दूध घीउ मह इत्यादि उत्पादन र निर्यातिमा लाग्ने कर ।
२७. गोडघुवानी-दरबारमा राजकन्याको विवाहमा नागरिकले बुझाउनु पर्ने गोडघुवा कर ।  
समाव्य = केश शुल्क ।
२८. शितो = करद राज्यले आफूभन्दा ठूला राज्यलाई बुझाउनु पर्ने राज्यकर ।
२९. लेककी हजडी = लेकाली भागमा पाइने वनोष्णधिको उपयोग गर्दा, कस्तुरी, बाज मुनाल आदिको संकलन गर्ने पेशामालाग्ने कर ।
३०. गाढकी बगडी-दहतर बहतर, (नदीको कालमा बग्दाबग्दै समातेर जम्मा गरिने बस्तु, दहमा ढुबी रहेको खोजेर पाखा उतारिने बस्तु र किनारा लागेर बगरमा रहेका बस्तु विशेष । (यो कर अचेल वनविभागका मातहतमा वनपैदावार बस्तुमा लिइन्छ) ।
३१. चोरी = चोरी काम गर्ने चोरसंग दण्डबापत असुल गरिने कर ।
३२. जारी = अर्काको स्वास्थ्यी लगेबापत पहिलो लाग्नेलाई जारले बुझाएका दातिपूर्तिको प्रतिशत ।
३३. हसीसो बचीसो = सवारी शिकारी र नयाँ पाहुना आउदा दिइने सलामी अथवा हसीस-नगरा बचीस पयनामा लाग्ने कर ।
३४. स्याफल = दाउरा घाँस, निर्माणसामग्री आदि वन-पैदावारमाथि लाग्ने कर ।
३५. कूत = जग्गाधनीलाई मोहीले बुझाउनु पर्ने आम्दानीको ६, ८, १२ प्रतिशतमध्ये कुनै जिन्सी रकम् ।
३६. चरजा = जग्गा जमीनको आली साँध लगाउनामा वा कतै निषेधाज्ञा जनाउने अथवा धारो बाँध्ने काम गर्नु पर्दा काममा खट्ने कटकाल, ढोली, रोकाया आदिलाई त्यस चोत्रका नागरिकले खप्नु पर्ने मानू मुठी बुझाउदा पुग्ने कर ।

यी वणिक्ति करहरूको विवरण बुझिसकेपछि एउटा तथ्यको अभाव सङ्कन्छ । त्यो अभाव हो यस्ता करहरू निर्धारण गदाको आधार । के कति आधारमा अथवा कुन अनुपातमा कर लागु गरिएको थियो । जुन कुरा यतिकैले खुल्दैन । हुन त त्यस्तो विवरणका लागि प्रेस्ता सबैभन्दा ज्ञानम्रोत हुन जान्छ, त्यही प्रेस्ता नपाइएसम्म तथ्यसंग परिचित हुनबाट बंचित रहिन्छ ।

३.० अनुसन्धान: उपपत्ति र उपसंहार:

३.१ उपपत्ति:

कृत्तीसकरसम्बन्धित अनुसन्धान सामान्यतः मध्यकालीन अर्थव्यवस्थाको पृष्ठभूमि मानिए तापनि तत्कालीन समाजको स्वरूप र सांस्कृतिक संरचनाका मूलाधारसंग पनि अन्तरंग सम्बन्ध रहेको प्रतीति मिल्दछ । इदमित्थम् यसो मन्न सकिन्छ नेपाली समाज-संस्कृतिको संरचनामा कृत्तीसकरको अपूर्व योगदान रहेको छ । जस्तो समाज संरचनाको एक दृष्टान्त उल्लेख गरौं- चौधौं शताब्दीमा धौमनि पाध्याले रासकोटी राजा सारूप्रतापबर्माको राजदरबारसम्बन्धी मण्डारी काम गदा उनले 'तिमी धौमनी मण्डारीलाई कृत्तीसकर नलाग्ने गरी धानसिइँको बित्ता दिई' भनेर लेखिदिए । यो एउटा दृष्टान्त मयो । यसरी नै प्रत्येक थरको रचनात्मक आधारतर्फ विहंगाकलन गदा यस्तै प्रमाण मुखर हुन्छन् ।

समाजका रचनात्मक पृष्ठभूमि जस्तै संस्कृतिसंग पनि उत्तिकै अन्तरंग सम्बन्ध रहेको देखिन्छ । जस्तो जातिको दृष्ट देवता 'मष्ट' लाई कृत्तीसकर लागु हुँदैन, कृत्तीसनगराको सलामी नपाएसम्म पतुदैन । कृत्तीस व्यञ्जन नपाए स्थानीय दृष्टदेवीहरू नागरिक-अभीप्सा पु-याउन उत्सुक हुँदैनन् । अनि राजप्रदत्त बित्ता, बितलव, गुठ, रजबन्धकी आदिमा कृत्तीसकरको प्रयोग भेद रहेकाले त्यसको असर संस्कृतिमा रहेकै हुनु पर्छ । यस अतिरिक्त सूत्रात्मक ढाँचामा यस प्रकारको अर्थव्यवस्था प्रकटरूपमा रहिरहेकोले पनि तत्कालीन जन-मनको आत्मसंकुचन रक्तका कण कणसंग मुखर रहेको हुनु पर्छ । त्यो संकुचन भावी सन्तानदरसन्तानमा पैतृक उत्तराधिकारको रूपमा सम्बन्धित रही आएको छ मन्नु अनर्थ हुने छैन । अतएव प्रस्तुत सौदा-मिनी प्रयासका भर नपरिकन सान्दभिक विषयवस्तुको गहन गवेषणा हुन सके कहीं मौलिक अर्थनीतिको नवोन्मेष उद्घाटन हुन सकोस् बश प्रस्तुत अनुच्छेदमा यतिले केही बुझाउन सकोस् ।

३.२ उपसंहार:

कृत्तीस गढ औ कृत्तीस थपूका महासामन्त महामण्डलेश्वरहरूले निःसंकोच प्रयोग गरेको अर्थनीतिको प्रारूप, कृत्तीस जातिहरूले आत्मना स्वोक्त प्रदान गरेको कृत्तीसकर निस्सन्देह लामो कालावधिको एक सफलताको द्योतक हो । वस्तुतः सामाजिक परिप्रसंगका विभिन्न अनुबन्धसंग कृत्तीसकरको अभिन्न एवं अन्तरंग सम्बन्ध रहेको हुनु पर्छ ।



६० सि एन एस जर्नल, मोलम १०, नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२। जुन ८३)

स्पष्टतः पूर्वमध्यकालदेखि शक्तिसम्पन्न रही आएको सिजा राज्य र उत्तर-मध्यकाल-मा शक्ति सम्पन्न रहेको डोटी राज्य एवं यिनका अन्तरंग मित्रहरू बफाङ्ग, अक्षाम, रास-कोट, विलासपुर, जुम्ला लगायत उत्तरवर्ती राज्यहरूमा समेत कृतीसकरको प्रयोग सफलीभूत रहेको विज्ञप्ति पूर्वोक्त प्रमाणहरूले दिइरहेका छन् । परन्तु कृतीसकरको बोधगम्य परिमाणा दिने-तर्फ विद्वान्हरू निकै पछि परिएकाले तत्सम्बन्धमा पर्याप्त जानकारी पाउन सम्भव भएको छैन । अध्ययन मननद्वारा आत्म-बोध हुन्छ कृतीसकर कुनै विशेष परिस्थितिमा लगाइने सामयिक खालको कर थिएन । वस्तुतः पूर्वानुवाकमार्फत व्यक्त गरिएका यी अर्थव्यवस्था मध्यकालमा आएर, ज्यादा व्यवहारिक र्ह्यो । फलतः तत्कालीन अर्थव्यवस्थाको सग्लो र परिपूर्ण रूप थियो । त्यस आधारबाट राज्यको आर्थिक स्तम्भको रूपमा कृतीसकर सदा सर्वदा अनुद्मिन्न थियो भन्नु समीचीन हुनेछ । अस्तु ।

सन्दर्भ स्रोत तथा पादटिप्पणी:

१ . मोहनप्रसाद खनाल:

चांगुनारायणको ऐतिहासिक सामग्री: प्रतिवेदन पृष्ठ ३८० परियोजना संयोजक:

त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय-नेपाल र एसियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र । कृति मुद्रणाधीन त्रि० वि० वि० छापाखाना कीर्तिपुर, नेपाल ।

उद्धृत अंश: साहेबले यसरी हुलकुलमा पसेको अपराधमा मलाई धुनी सर्वस्व हरण गरी राखेको अब उपरान्त अधिको अपराध सबै माफी कृतीसै अथवा माफी गरी सर्वस्व फिर्ता दिनु भयो । नेवारीमा:..... न्ता पाया अपराध ढको माफ याडो व: ३६ तीक्या अर्थ माफ याडोव, सर्वस्व प्रस्व जुरो ।

२ . पूर्णप्रकाश नेपाल 'यात्री'

राजा गगनराजको यात्रा: संयोजक: त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय नेपाल र एसियाली अनु-सन्धान केन्द्र । प्रकाशक: नेशनल रिसर्च एसोसिएट्स, ढिल्लीबजार काठमाडौं नेपाल (२०३६) पृष्ठ ८२ ।

उद्धृत अंश: सिक-उठती राजस्व जस्ता करहरू । प्राचीन कालीन सशराज्यहरूमा लागु रहेका कृतीस खाले करमध्ये सार्वजनिक रूपमा लाग्ने पहिलो कर । बित्तिवार बाहेक अरु थानी थरीले राज्यको सिक नबुझाहकन स्थायी रूपमा बसोबास गर्न पाउँदैनथे ।

३ . धनबज्र बज्राचार्य:

लिच्छवि कालका अभिलेख: प्रकाशक: त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय, नेपाल र एसियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र कीर्तिपुर । २०३० पृष्ठ ६८ ।

उद्धृत अंश:

पञ्चाशद् भाग आदेयो राजा पशुहिरण्ययो: ।

धान्यानामष्टमो भागः षष्टो द्वादश एव वा ॥

(राजाले पशु र हिरण्यमा पचास भागको एक भाग लिनु । अनाजमा चाहिँ छ भागको एक भाग, आठ भागको एक भाग वा बाइ्र भागको एक भाग लिनु) ।

टीकाकार यस कुरालाई अफ स्पष्ट पादैँ यस्तो लेख्छन् - 'अष्टमः षष्ठो द्वादश इति विकल्पो भूम्युत्कर्षापकर्षां क्लेश लाघव गौरवापेक्षाया द्रष्टव्यः । धान्यानां ब्रीहियवादिनाम् । अयं च भागः कर्षकैभ्यः ग्रासः

(टिप्पणी सम्पादना-लिच्छवि कालका कर व्यवस्थामा मूलतः त्रिकर संज्ञा प्रतीकात्मक अर्थमा प्रयोग भएको देखिन्छ । यो वाक्य वा नामकरणको शास्त्रीय आधार मनुस्मृति रहेको बुझिन्छ । सम्भवतः यस प्रतीकात्मक वाक्यको विस्तृत रूप नै पो कृत्तीसकर हुन आएको हो कि भन्ने उपशंका पनि गर्न सकिन्छ) ।

पृष्ठ १०४-

अष्टादश प्रकृतिः

जयपल्लिका ग्राममा बस्ने ब्राह्मणलगायत अष्टादश प्रकृति (अठारै प्रकारको जात) लाई सम्बोधन गरी यो अभिलेख शुरू गरिएको छ । अन्त्यतिर पनि 'एतस्मिन्ग्रामे ये प्रविष्टाः प्रविविक्ताश्च ब्राह्मणप्रधानाः साष्टादश प्रकृतयः भन्ने वाक्य परेको छ । यसबाट लिच्छवि कालको जातपातबारे हामी केही थाहा पाउँछौं ।

४. अभिलेख संग्रहः (संकलन र सम्पादन पूर्णप्रकाश नेपाल 'यात्री')

पाण्डुलिपि पृष्ठ १४८ को कम्याण्डर इन्चीफ जनरल देवसमशेरको सम्बत् १९४६ ज्येष्ठ बदी २ मा प्रसारित पत्रबाटः-

कृत्तीसकरः स्याफल खोपका, आलो, मेलो, ढेढो, मलो, गडाली, सेमा, घरको ठेक, अस्मानी, दलाली, काछो, प्याचखानी, राजखानी, अन्या, फारो, बेगारो, बेसौतीकर, फर्दा-फार्सा, गोडघुवानी, चुमाउनी, डंडकुड, मोड, अपुताली, जारी, चोरी, मुडाली, पेंटाली, पीठायो, बसिकोडंडो, रोपाइरो, कृत्तीसी, बत्तीसी ।

५. .... महाभारतः

अष्टादशपुराणेषु व्यासस्यवचनद्वयम् ।

परोपकार पुण्याय पापाय परपीडनम् ॥

पुराण १८ उपपुराण १८ दुवैको योग ३६

महाभारतको लडाईँ १८ दिन । रात्रीमा युद्धविराम कायम रहन नसकेको प्रमाण

धृष्टद्युम्नादि बध प्रसंगबाट बुझिन्छ । तसर्थ यो योग पनि ३६ हुन्छ । युधिष्ठिरले

३६ वर्ष राज्य गरे ।

६. .... गुणैः षोडशभिनिन्यः मध्यमा वींशतिस्तथा ।

तत्परैः पंचभिः श्रेष्ठं ततः श्रेष्ठतरं गुणैः ३६ ॥

सद्भकुटे त्विदं ज्ञेयं दुष्टकूटेथ कथ्यते ।

६२ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, भोलम १०, नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२। जुन ८३)

निन्य गुणैः वींशतिभिः मध्यं वाणा २५ धिकैर्मैतम् ।।

श्रेष्ठं स्त्रिंसद्गुणं यावत्परतस्तूत्तमोत्तमम् ।। ३६ ।।

.....

एको लदान्तु नेपाले ग्रामास्तत्र प्रवर्तते ।

षाड्स्त्रिंशल्लदामानन्तु कान्यकुब्जे प्रतिष्ठितः ।।

७. .... श्रवणांकीर्तनविष्णोः स्मरणापादसेवनम् ।

अर्चनबन्दनदास्ये सख्यमात्मनिवेदनम् ।

(श्री मद्भागवत महापुराण सप्तमस्कन्ध प्रल्हादोपाख्यान)

८. .... यो जम्बुद्वीप हत्तीस लाख योजन चाकलो ह ।

आशयार्थ- (श्री मद्भागवत महापुराण पंचमस्कन्धः

भुवनकोश वणनोपाख्यान प्रसंग । प्रत्येक द्वीपहरू नौ नौ वर्ष र नौ नौ खण्डमा

विभाजित थिए । वंशलीला कथामा यस्तो स्थिति गरेको ह ।)

९. बृहज्ज्योतिष्ठाणवः मेलापक प्रकरण

‘सर्वं शुभं तत्स्मृतितोधिकं १६ यत् ३६’,

१०. .... ऐजन् सूर्य १२, महीना १२, ध्रुवचक्र १२, रासी १२, लग्न १२, अयनाशागति १२, नवमांशा १२, ग्रहावस्थाभेद १२, कुण्डलिका कोष्टक संख्या १२, मारकेश १२, युगान्त-वर्ष १२ आदि ।

११. पूर्णप्रकाश नेपाल ‘यात्री’

भेरी लोकसाहित्य, संयोजकः त्रि. वि. वि. नेपाल र रशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र

कीर्तिपुर, प्रकाशकः नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा-प्रतिष्ठान कमलादी काठमाडौं (२०३६-४०)

१२. योगी नरहरिनाथः

दिव्योपदेशः प्रकाशकः इतिहासप्रकाशक संघ मृगस्थली काठमाडौं (२०१२)

१३. सम्पादक भीमप्रसाद श्रेष्ठः

कर्णाली-प्रदेश एकविटो अध्ययनः प्रकाशकः सामाजिक अध्ययन

समुदाय जुम्ला (२०२८) पृष्ठ (परिशिष्ट) ४-५

(योगी नरहरिनाथ सम्पादित इतिहास-प्रकाश पहिलो अड्डाको

पृष्ठ ११३-१४ बाट सामार गरी ह्यापिएको)

१४. (शाके १२८६ मा सिजाका राजा सूर्यमल्लद्वारा जुठादेउ जोइसीलाई भूमिदान दिँदा

गरिदिएको ताम्रपत्रमा यो वाक्य अंकित हः- ‘फाप्या गुप्या कडित्या पोटलो

पीठायो आदि करि हत्तीसकर अकर करि’ -- यो ताम्रपत्र अहाम गुह्लापानी निबासी

भोजराज रेग्मीसित ह । प्रतिकृति अन्वेषकको संग्रहमा पनि ह ।

१५. बालकृष्ण पोखरेल: पांचशय वर्षी पृष्ठ २३ (२०२०)  
(कर.कूत, जिउ, कुडियो, मौनी, मानू, मूठो, देखनी, दुवायो, पीठायो, डंडकुंड, मोड-अपुताली, मुडाली, पेटाली, चोरी, जारी, आदि कृत्तीसै कर अकर कि पसा किया हौ ।) सिजाका राजा बलिराज र मेदिनीबमाको शाके १३२० को संयुक्त ताम्रपत्र ।
१६. (२) पूर्ववत्-प्राचीन तथा मध्यकालमा पशुधनमा लाग्ने कर ।  
कृत्तीसकरमध्ये एक ।
१७. पूर्णप्रकाश नेपाल 'यात्री' कणाली-प्रदेशको मध्यकालीन इतिहास (मुद्रणाधीन)
१८. (२) अभिलेख संग्रह (पाण्डुलिपि) पृष्ठ ३१ अधीतव्य ।
१९. (४) क. 'डान्न अखाड पानी आप्ती हिल-पानी धूल-स्याउली कृत्तीसै कर अकर सर्व-  
दोषा विशुद्ध..... अहमका राजा उदयब्रह्म रायको शाके १३५६ को ताम्र-  
पत्रको एक अंश ।  
ख. 'हिलपानी धूलस्याउली कृत्तीसै कर अकर सर्व दोषा निदोषा शुद्ध विशुद्ध  
अकाशकि ढिढो पातालकि निघ नाशो सनको पैठो सबै ह्वाडी पसाकि अत्रया  
हु । (शाके १३५६ वैशाख शुदी पंचमी बुधबारका दिन आंधु जोसी जैतु  
जोसीलाई गरिदिएको ताम्रपत्रको एक अंश) ऐं
२०. (४) बफाडूका राजा शक्तिब्रह्म राउला सोनब्रह्म राउलाको ताम्रपत्रमा 'कृत्तीसै कर  
अकर दश दोषा सबै ह्वाडी अत्रया हु' उल्लेख ह । यो ताम्रपत्र शाके १३६८ ज्येष्ठ  
अमावास्याका दिन बफाडू० मध्ये जुफ्फी गाउँका अजुजोसी, फुसुजोसी र देव-  
दासजोसीलाई गरिदिएको सत्तुजोसी लिखित ताम्रपत्र हो ।
२१. (४) जुम्ला छिनासिमका राजा मानसाही सिलमसाहीले विष्णुहरि पण्डित  
(न्यौपाने) लाई शाके १५०६ माघ कृष्ण सप्तमी भौमबारका दिन गरिदिएको  
ताम्रपत्रमा 'कृत्तीसकर अकर दश दोषा निदोषा' लेखिएको ह ।
२२. पूर्णप्रकाश नेपाल 'यात्री' सेतीका तारा, प्रकाशक: हिमालीसौगात प्रकाशन  
विराटनगर (२०३४) पृष्ठ २५६ 'कृत्तीसै परग्यौलीको नेग तोडी' यो वाक्यांश शाके  
१५७१ मा डोटीका रैका राजा पहाडी शाहीद्वारा प्रसारित कागते ग्रेस्तामा लेखिएको  
ह ।
२३. (४) क. 'स्याफल' उल्लेख गरी वनवनेउली समेत थप लेखिएकोले वनपैदावारमा लाग्ने  
कर हो भन्ने स्पष्ट हुन्छ । यो आशय सम्बत् १६४३ सालमा राजकुमार  
कृष्णबहादुरले बाजुरा (तत्कालीन बफाडू०) का रुगिनकोटका मनसुर  
शाहीलाई, दलबहादुर शाहीलाई लेखि दिएको दस्तखत पत्रमा ह ।

६४ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम १०, नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२। जुन ८३)

(४) ख. यी सिजापतिहरू पुराना थिए भन्ने जनाउन यस वाक्यांशले मदत गर्नेछ  
‘हामी अधिदेसिका सिजापति ठकुरी जात हुनाले’ (जुम्ली राजा प्रमु-  
नारायण शाहको सम्बत् १६३२। ६। ३। ७ को रूक्कापत्र) ।



## राष्ट्रको सर्वांगीण इतिहासको लागि पुरातत्त्वको महत्व र आवश्यकता

मोहनप्रसाद खनाल \*

संसारको मानचित्रमा हेर्दा नेपाल आफ्ना हिमकी देशहरू मन्दा धेरै सानो मुलुक देखिन्छ । तर कम क्षेत्रफल र भौतिक साधनको अभावमा मात्र नेपाल सानो वा गरीब भएतापनि साँस्कृतिक निधिहरूको क्षेत्रमा यो देश अत्यन्त संपन्न छ ।

अखिलेभन्दा करीब एक शताब्दीअघि नेपालको इतिहासका प्रामाणिक स्रोतहरूको खोजीगरी प्रकाश गर्ने कामको थालनी भएथ्यो । यस सन्दर्भमा नेपालको इतिहासको अनुसन्धान गर्ने क्रममा सर्वप्रथम विदेशी विद्वानहरूकै नाम अगाडि आउँदछ । संवत् १९३७ मा गुजरातको कठियावाड निवासी पण्डित भगवानलाल इन्द्रजीले नेपालका केही शिलालेखहरूको खोजीगरी प्रकाशित गराएका थिए । यसै समयदेखि बेण्डाल, लेमी आदि विद्वानहरूको ध्यानपनि यस-तर्फ जानथाल्यो । आज एक शताब्दी पक्षिसम्म पनि हामी सोही बाटोको अनुसरण गरी अगाडि बढिरहेका छौं ।

नेपालमा इतिहास लेख्ने र लेखाउने परंपराको थालनी धेरै अघिदेखि भएको थियो । काव्यात्मक ढंगबाट आफ्नो वंशको इतिवृत्त लेखाउने काम लिच्छवि शासकहरूले पनि गरेका थिए । तर यसभन्दा ढुङ्गा आफ्ना देशमा भए घटेका सार्वजनिक घटनाहरूको उचित रूपमा अंकित गर्ने काम लिच्छविहरूले किन गरेनन् यसबारे खोजी गर्नु अझै बाँकी छ ।

ऐतिहासिक सामग्री संग्रहको दृष्टिले मध्यकालको विशेष महत्त्व छ । स्थितिमल्लको समयमा संग्रहित गोपाल वंशावली यसको उदाहरण हो । गोपालवंशावलीमा गोपालकाल देखिकै पूर्व वृत्तान्तको एकसरो रूप पाइन्छ । अझ यो संग्रह भएताका घटेका सार्वजनिक घटनाहरूको जुन टिपोट यसमा टिपिएको छ त्यो बढो महत्त्वको छ ।

पछि मल्लकाल र शाहकालमा गोपाल-वंशावलीरूपमा अनेक वंशावलीहरूको संग्रह हुन थाल्यो । देशभित्र घटेका ठूलासाना सार्वजनिक घटनाहरूलाई आ-आफ्नै ढंगमा अंकित गरेका कतिपय उदाहरण आज उपलब्ध छन् ।

हामीकहाँ वंशावली, तात्कालिक टिपोट, अभिलेख र मुद्राहरूको परीक्षा गरी यिनै सामग्रीका आधारमा प्रामाणिक इतिहास लेखन शुरू गरेको पनि फण्डे चार दशक बितिसक्यो । तर आजसम्म विश्वविद्यालय स्तरमा साँचो भएको नेपालको संपूर्ण इतिहास तयार हुन सकेको छैन । यस्तो किन भएको हो यसमा हामीले गंभीरता पूर्वक विचार गर्नु परेको छ ।

\* श्री मोहनप्रसाद खनाल नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्रका उप-प्राध्यापक हुनु हुन्छ ।

६६ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, भोलम १०, नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२। जुन ८३)

आज हामी प्राप्त सामग्रीका आधारमा मध्यकाल र आधुनिक कालको इतिहास लेख्न सक्ने स्थितिमा पुगेका छौं । तर नेपालको प्राचीन कालको पूर्वादर्भ र प्रागैतिहासिककाल विलकुलै अन्धकारमा छ । परन्तु उत्तर-प्राचीन काल अर्थात् मानदेव-देखिका करीव २०० जति अभिलेख, केही मुद्रा र मूर्तिहरू प्रकाशमा आएका छन् । यिनै सामग्रीहरूको उपयोग गरी लिच्छ-विकालको एकसरो इतिहाससम्म लेख्न सकिन्छ । तर त्यसवेलाको सर्वाङ्गीण ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा तयार पार्ने बस्दा मूलभूत कुराहरू नै हाप्रा अगाडि समस्याका रूपमा प्रश्नचिन्ह भएर खडा हुन पुग्दछन् । ती हुन् लिच्छविकालको आर्थिक एवं सामाजिक अवस्था ।

अफ माथि भनिए फौ नेपालको पूर्व-प्रचीन काल र प्रागैतिहासिक युग बिलकुलै अन्धकारमय छ । जबसम्म यी युगहरूका बारेमा एकसरो अध्ययनसम्म पनि हुँदैन तबसम्म राष्ट्रिय इतिहासको सर्वाङ्गीण रूपरेखा तयार पार्नु संभव हैन ।

फाण्डे छ दशक अगाडिसम्म प्राचीन भारतीय संस्कृति र इतिहासका विषयमा यस्तै समस्याहरू देखिएका थिए । किन्तु १९२२-२३ हस्वीताका यस दिशामा एक नयाँ युगको प्रारम्भ हुन पुग्यो । यसै वर्ष महेंजो-दडो नामक स्थानमा उत्खननको कार्य शुरू भयो र क्रमागत रूपमा द्रविड-कालिक वैभवयुक्त हडप्पा संस्कृति-को अस्तित्व प्रकाशमा आयो । यसपछि क्रमशः प्राचीन भारतीय संस्कृति र इतिहास सम्बन्धी अरू नयाँ खोज र उत्खनन हुन थाले । यसले गर्दा प्राचीन भारतीय संस्कृतिका विषयमा महत्वपूर्ण उपलब्धिहरू भए ।

नेपाल अधिराज्यका विभिन्न ठाउँहरूमा प्रागैतिहासिक कालदेखिकै अनेक पुरातात्विक स्थल वा स्मारकहरू रहेका छन् । तर ती स्थल वा स्मारकहरूको आजसम्म राष्ट्रिय स्तरमा वैज्ञानिक खोज वा संरक्षण हुन सकेको हैन । पुरातात्विक सामग्री विना राष्ट्रको इतिहास अपांग बन्दछ । त्यसैले प्राचीन इतिहासको मेरुदण्डको रूपमा रहेको पुरातात्विक स्थलको वैज्ञानिक ढंगले खोजी गर्नु ज्यादै आवश्यक भएको छ ।

हाप्रा देशमा अहिलेसम्म पुरातात्विक स्थलको सर्वेक्षण र अनुसन्धान हुन सकेको हैन । यसले गर्दा देशका असंख्य पुरातात्विक महत्वका स्थल वा स्मारकहरू नष्ट प्रायः भैसकेका छन् । वौकी रहेबचेका केही स्थलहरूको पनि अति नै दुर्दशाजनक अवस्था छ । यसैले राष्ट्रिय इतिहासको सर्वाङ्गीण रूपरेखा तयार पार्ने काममा सर्वप्रथम युगौंदेखि खण्डहरका रूपमा हाप्रा अमूल्य पुरातात्विक निधिहरूको वैज्ञानिक ढंगबाट सर्वेक्षण र अनुसन्धान हुनु अति आवश्यक भएको छ ।

पुरातात्विक खोजविना लिच्छवि-कालको इतिहास नै पनि तयार हुन सक्दैन । साहित्यिक ढंगबाट संकेत गरिएको बाहेक मानगृह, कैलाशकूटभवन र भद्राधिवास जस्ता महलहरूको अवशेष पनि आज विवादको विषय बनेको छ । लिच्छविहरूको वास्तुविन्यास, आमोद-प्रमोदका साधन र वस्त्र तथा आभूषणहरूबारे हामी विलकुलै अनभिज्ञ छौं । खानपिन, आहारविहारको साथै उनीहरूको दैनिक जीवनमा नमै नहुने माँड्वावर्तन र अन्य साधनहरूका

सम्बन्धमा पनि हामीलाई कुनै कुरा थाहा छैन । लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखहरूमा पण, पुराण, कार्णापण नामक मुद्राहरूको चर्चा पाइन्छ । पण तामाको र पुराण चाँदीको हुन्थ्यो भन्ने कुरा पनि तिनै अभिलेखहरूबाट खुल्दछ । तर कार्णापण कुन धातुबाट बनेको मुद्रा थियो त्यसको कुनै निश्चित छैन । परन्तु प्राचीन नेपालमा प्रचलित टकहरूमा तामाका मुद्राबाहेक चाँदी वा सुनका मुद्राहरू पाइएका छैनन् । जबसम्म यस कालका मुद्राहरूको स्पष्ट अध्ययन हुन सक्दैन तबसम्म प्राचीन नेपालको आर्थिक स्थितिबारे केही बोल्न सकिदैन ।

पुरातत्व-विज्ञानको महत्त्व सर्वविदितै छ । यसै शताब्दीको प्रारम्भिक कालसम्म इतिहासकारहरू साहित्यिक स्रोतका आधारमा कुनै स्थान विशेषको इतिहास लेख्ने गर्दथे । अब पुरातत्व-विज्ञानको सहायताले अधिकांश स्थानहरूको सांस्कृतिक एवं राजनैतिक इतिहासलाई प्रामाणिक तथा रोचक ढंगबाट लेखिन थालेको छ । पुरातत्वविज्ञानले हजारौं वर्षअघि सण्ड-हरूका रूपमा दबेका सम्यताहरूलाई उत्खननको माध्यमद्वारा प्रकाशमा ल्याउने जुन सारगर्भित एवं सफल प्रयास ग-यो त्यो विश्व-इतिहासमा एउटा अविस्मरणीय घटना रहेको छ ।

प्राचीन नेपालका निवासीहरूको संस्कृति एवं ऐतिहासिक स्रोतका सम्बन्धमा आज हामी बिल्कुलै अन्धकारमा छौं । यद्यपि यी कुराहरूका बारेमा पुरातात्विक खोज गर्न सक्थौं भन्ने नेपालको प्रागैतिहासिक कालदेखिकै संस्कृति परंपराको एउटा क्रमवद्ध इतिहास तयार पार्न सक्दछौं ।

तात्कालिक समाजको आर्थिक अवस्था, सामाजिक जीवन-पद्धति र सांस्कृतिक परंपरा बुझ्न पुरातात्विक खोजबिना अरु कुनै उपाय नै छैन । हातहतियार, माँडाकुँडा एवं खाद्य पदार्थ, वस्त्र र आभूषणहरूबाट तात्कालिक आर्थिक अवस्था बारे विचार गर्न सकिन्छ भने वास्तु अवशेष, संस्कार-पद्धति, आमोदप्रमोदका साधनहरू र अन्य लौकिकजीवनमा आवश्यक पर्ने वस्तुहरूका अवशेषको माध्यमबाट तात्कालिक सामाजिक एवं धार्मिक अवस्थाबारे प्रकाश पार्न सकिन्छ । त्यति मात्र हैन पुरातात्विक खोजबाट तात्कालिक संस्कृतिका सम्बन्धमा विचार गर्न सक्ने एउटा यस्तो अन्तर्दृष्टि हामीमा पर्दछ जुन केवल पुस्तकीयज्ञान तथा अन्य विचारद्वारा सम्भव हुँदैन ।



### प्रागैतिहासिक काल

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नेपालमा प्रागैतिहासिक काल कहाँबाट शुरू भएर कहिलेसम्म रह्यो यसको कुनै निश्चित हैन । त्यसैले प्रागैतिहासिक कालको तिथिक्रमलाई कुन आधारमा वर्गीकरण गर्ने भन्ने समस्या हाम्रो अगाडि उपस्थित हुन्छ । वैज्ञानिक ढंगले यस दिशातर्फ खोजी कार्य नभएसम्म हिमेली मुलुक तथा नेपाल जस्तो हावापानी भएका देशहरूले खोजी गरी तय गरेका तिथिक्रमलाई नै मान्नु पर्ने हुन्छ । तर अझ प्राप्त औजार एवं अवशेषहरूको तुलनात्मक अध्ययनले यस विषयमा बढी रोचक र भरपर्दो हुन्छ ।

यहाँ प्राप्त पुरातनप्रस्तरयुग देखिकै औजार र अवशेषहरूले हामीलाई यस दिशामा खोजी गर्ने उत्साहजनक मार्ग देखिएका छन् । संसारका विविध क्षेत्रमा पाइएका पाषाणयुगीन हतियारहरूसँग समानता राख्ने औजारहरूका साथै विशेष आफ्नै प्रकारका केही हतियारहरू पनि यहाँ पाइएका छन् । प्राप्त यिनै औजारहरूको तुलनात्मक अध्ययनबाट पनि हामीले केही कुराहरू बुझ्ने प्रयत्न गर्नुपर्दछ ।

नेपालका विभिन्न ठाउँहरूमा पाइएका अनेक प्रकारका प्रस्तर औजार र अवशेषहरूलाई विधिवत अध्ययन गरेको खण्डमा संसारका अनेक भू-भागमा कुरिएर रहेका आदिमकालीन मानव समुदायको प्रसारण र भारतमा फेँ नेपालमा पनि तिनीहरूको अस्तित्व भएको प्रशस्त प्रमाण पाइन्छ । दुर्भाग्यवस नेपालमा अझसम्म वैज्ञानिक ढंगले यस दिशातर्फ विचारसम्म गरिएको हैन । परन्तु यस विषयमा चाख भएका केही स्वदेशी तथा विदेशी विद्वान्हरूद्वारा संकलित औजारहरू र नेपालको सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रमा गरिएको भारतीय सर्वेक्षाण एवं अनुसन्धानका आधारमा नेपालको प्रागैतिहासिककालबारे अध्ययन गर्ने केही साधनहरू उपलब्ध छन् ।

भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षाण ढलले काश्मीर, गढवाल, सिक्किम र आसाम राज्यमा गरेका खोज र त्यहाँ उपलब्ध औजार एवं अवशेषका आधारमा नेपालको प्रागैतिहासिक संस्कृतिबारे अध्ययन गर्ने एउटा बाटोसम्म तय भएको हैन । काश्मीरदेखि आसामसम्म प्राप्त भएका अनेक प्रकारका औजार एवं अवशेषहरूमा जुन एकरूपता र समानता पाइएको छ त्यो नै अहिलेलाई नेपालको प्रागैतिहासिककालबारे खोजी गर्ने सबभन्दा ठूलो आधार हो ।

प्राप्त औजार तथा अवशेषका आधारमा नेपालको प्रागैतिहासिककाललाई सामान्यतया तीन युगमा विभाजन गर्न सकिन्छ ।

१. पुरातन प्रस्तर युग
२. मध्य प्रस्तर युग र
३. नूतन प्रस्तर युग

## १. पुरातन प्रस्तर युगः

दुर्भाग्यवश नेपालमा पुरातन प्रस्तर युगका केही औजारहरू बाहेक अन्य अवशेषहरूको सर्वथा अभाव छ । प्राप्त पाषाण हतियारहरूको पनि विधिवत अध्ययन हुन सकेको छैन । तर यस युगको सभ्यताका बारेमा प्रकाश पार्ने अवशेष र औजारहरू पृथ्वीका अनेक भू-भागमा पाइएका छन् । एशिया, यूरोप, अफ्रिका आदि सर्वत्र बनेका पाषाण औजारहरूमा आश्चर्यजनक समानता पाइएको छ । दक्षिण इङ्गल्याण्ड, वा उत्तर-पश्चिम फ्रान्स आदि ठाउँमा जुन प्रकारका औजारहरू पाइएका छन् अफ्रिका, भारत र नेपालमा पनि ठीक त्यस्तै प्रकारका प्राचीन औजारहरू पाइन्छन् ।

यहाँ संसारका विभिन्न ठाउँमा प्राप्त औजारहरू बारे चर्चा गर्ने अभिप्राय मेरो छैन । अहिलेसम्म नेपालमा यस युगका हतियारहरू कहाँ कहाँ पाइएका छन् त्यसबारे संक्षिप्त रूपमा यहाँ चर्चा गरिन्छ ।

### १. काठमाडौँ उपत्यका

### २. नारायणी उपत्यका

### ३. कर्णाली उपत्यका

यी तीन क्षेत्रको अतिरिक्त नेपालका अनेक भू-भागमा पनि पुरातन प्रस्तरयुगका औजार एवं अरू अवशेषहरू पाइने संभावना छ । तर विधिवत् रूपमा आजसम्म कुनै खोजी कार्य नभै सकेको हुँदा अरू स्थानहरूको यहाँ उल्लेख गर्नु संभव छैन ।

### काठमाडौँ उपत्यकाः

नेपालमा प्राप्त पुरातन प्रस्तर युगका औजारहरूमा काठमाडौँ उपत्यका क्षेत्रका पाषाणहतियारहरू विशेष महत्वका छन् । वागमती, मनमती र तीनका सहायक नदीका प्रस्रवणक्षेत्र एवं उद्गमस्थलका वरपरबाट आदि मानवहरूद्वारा प्रयुक्त औजारहरू थोरै संख्यामा पाइएका छन् तर यिनको आफ्नै विशेषता छ । खासगरी अहिलेसम्म काठमाडौँ उपत्यकाको बूढानीलकण्ठ<sup>२</sup> गोदावरीको बलु<sup>३</sup> र गोकर्ण<sup>४</sup> क्षेत्रमा जुन हतियारहरू पाइएका छन् तिनीहरूलाई भारतका नर्वदा घाटी, कृष्णा नदी र कश्मीर प्रदेशमा प्राप्त हतियारहरूसँग दाँज्न सकिन्छ ।

### नारायणी उपत्यकाः

नारायणी अञ्चलको भरतपुरक्षेत्रमा पुरातन प्रस्तर युगका हतियार एवं अवशेषहरू पाइएका छन् । नारायणी नदीको प्रस्रवण क्षेत्रमा प्राप्त यी हतियार आघातद्वारा पृथक गरेर बनाइएको छ<sup>५</sup> र दक्षिण भारतको कर्नूल जिल्लामा प्राप्त हतियारसँग यसको तुलना गर्न सकिन्छ ।

१०० सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम १० १० नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२।जुन ८३)

### कणाली उपत्यका:

कणाली प्रस्रवण दोत्रको हुमला जिल्लामा विमानस्थल निर्माण गर्दा आदि मानवको सम्पर्कसहित केही पाषाण औजारहरू पाइएका थिए । दुर्भाग्यवस त्यहाँ प्राप्त मानव सम्पर्कलाई अध्ययन विना नष्ट गरियो र प्राप्त हतियारहरूको पनि संग्रह गरिएन । तर पनि त्यहाँ वरपर प्राप्त भएका केही औजारहरू काश्मीरको पुच्छ दोत्रमा पाइएका सोआँ सम्यताका औजारहरूसँग मिल्दा जुल्दा देखिन्छन्<sup>६</sup> ।

नेपालमा पुरातन प्रस्तर युगका भद्दा ढुंगे हतियारबाहेक काठ एवं हाडबाट बनेका औजारहरू पाइएका हुन् । लाखौं वा हजारौं वर्षको विभिन्न धरी जलवायुको अन्तरालमा यस्ता वस्तुहरूको अस्तित्व बच्न सक्ने संभावना रहँदैन । किनकि प्रागैतिहासिक युगका पाषाण औजार जो आज पाइएका छन् तिनमा पनि समयको विनाशकारी प्रभाव दृष्टिगोचर हुन्छ ।

### २. मध्य प्रस्तर युग:

प्रागैतिहासिककाललाई (नृतत्व-शास्त्रको अनुसार) प्राप्त औजार र अवशेषका आधारमा कालविभाजन गरिएको छ । नेपालमा पाइएका प्रस्तर औजारहरू पनि सोही अनुरूपका भएकोले मध्ययुगीन प्रस्तर औजारबारे चर्चा गरिन्छ ।

मध्य प्रस्तर युगमा बनेका औजारहरू पुरातन प्रस्तर युगका औजारहरू भन्दा सुन्दर परिष्कृत र उन्नत खालका हुन्छन् । यस किसिमका हतियारहरू प्रायः गरेर हातबाट बनाइएका भद्दा तर काम चलाउ, पोलेको माटाका भाँडाका टुक्राहरूसँग मिल्ने गर्दछन् ।

नेपालमा मध्य प्रस्तरयुगिन हतियारहरू काठमाडौं उपत्यकाको बूढानीलकण्ठ र गोकर्ण भेगमा पाइएका छन्<sup>७</sup> । यी औजार सँग हातद्वारा निर्मित पोलेको माटाका खटाहरू प्राप्त भएका छन् र यहाँ प्राप्त हतियारहरूमा, बन्वरो, इत्यौड, सुरपी, वाण र कुराहरू मुख्य हुन् । काठमाडौं उपत्यकाबाहिर यस प्रकारका अनेक अवशेषहरू पाइने संभावना त छ तर योजनावद्ध रूपमा खोजी नगरी यसबारे बोल्न सक्ने स्थिति अहिलेलाई छैन ।

### ३. नूतन प्रस्तर युग:

पुरातन प्रस्तर युग र मध्य प्रस्तर युगपछि विश्वका अन्य भू-भागमाफै नेपालमा पनि नूतन प्रस्तर युग रहेको प्रमाण पाइन्छ । पालिसदार सुडौल, परिष्कृत एवं कुरितो पाषाण हतियारहरूका साथै चक्रद्वारा निमित्त चित्रयुक्त अत्यन्त सुन्दर मृत्तिका पात्र यस युगका विशेषता हुन् ।

पुरातन प्रस्तर युग वा मध्य प्रस्तर युगका अवशेषहरू भने नूतन प्रस्तर युगको खोजी गर्नु त्यति जटिल छैन । प्रारम्भिककालदेखि नै विस्तारै तर अनवरतरूपमा सभ्यताको विकास गर्दै जाने मानवस्वभाव भएकोले जंगली अवस्थाबाट नागरिक अवस्थामम्म मानवसभ्यताका चिन्हहरू आज उपलब्ध छन् । गुफा वा ओडारमा जीवन बिताउने र जीवनशिल्पाट नै निर्वाह गर्ने पुरातन प्रस्तर युगका मानवहरू नूतनप्रस्तर युगसम्म आइपुग्दा गाँउले जीवन यापन गर्दै हलोद्वारा कृषिकार्य, पशुपालन र माँडा बनाउने जस्ता अनेक व्यवसायमा लागेका प्रमाणहरू पाइएका छन् ।

नेपालमा नूतन प्रस्तर युगका अनेक औजार र अवशेषहरू पाइएका छन् । तर तिनको विधिवत् अध्ययन र संरक्षण नभएकोले यस विषयमा विस्तारपूर्वक चर्चा गर्न संभव छैन । परन्तु नेपालमा अहिलेसम्म बचेका औजार र अवशेषहरूका आधारमा केही चर्चा गरिन्छ ।

पश्चिम नेपालको दाङ उपत्यका र कर्णाली प्रस्रवण चौत्रका अनेक ठाउँमा यसकालका अवशेषहरू प्रशस्त मात्रामा भेटिने गर्दछन् । डोल्पाको जुफालमा विमानस्थलको लागि ढिस्को सम्प्याउने कार्य गर्दा शव पेटिकासहित माँडावर्तन, गरगहना र औजारहरू प्रशस्त मात्रामा भेटिएका थिए । त्यस्तै दाङको राप्ती नदीका छेउमा कुलो खन्दा र जगहरू खन्दा औजार र मूर्तिका पात्रसहित मानवअस्थिपञ्जर भेटिएका थिए । जुम्लाको भिचा हुम्लाको सिमिकोट, मुस्ताङ उपत्यका र अन्य ठाउँहरूमा यसकालका अनेक अवशेष र औजारहरू भेटिन्छन् । काठमाडौँ उपत्यकाको गोकर्ण, गोदावरी, लेले र पूर्वमा पाँचखाल चरिकोट, रामेछाप, उदयपुर, धरान तथा अन्य ठाउँहरूमा नूतन प्रस्तर युगका अवशेष र औजारहरू पाइएका छन् । नेपालमा पाइएका नूतन प्रस्तरयुगीन पाषाण हतियारहरूमा विशेष गरेर बन्चरो, हत्यूडी, खुरपी, कुरा, करौँती र लघु पाषाणिक कुराहरू हुन् ।

ताम्रपाषाण युग र ताम्रयुग:

नेपालमा ताम्रपाषाणयुग र ताम्रयुगका केही औजारहरू यदाकदा भेटिएको सुनिन्छ । तर अज्ञानतावस अध्ययन हुनुअगाडि नै ती औजारहरूलाई गलाउने वा नष्ट गर्ने गरिन्छ । यसैले नेपालमा ताम्रपाषाण युग र ताम्रयुगीन सभ्यताबारे विशेष अध्ययन नगरी केही बोल्न सक्ने स्थिति अहिलेलाई छैन ।

ऐतिहासिक काल:

नेपालमा प्रागैतिहासिक कालको अन्त्य र ऐतिहासिक कालको शुरू कहिलेदेखि भयो यसको कुनै निश्चित तिथिभ्रम छैन । तर गोपालवंशावली आदि केही वंशावलीको आधारमा गोपालकालदेखि प्रागैतिहासिककाल सकिएर ऐतिहासिककाल शुरू भएको हो कि भन्ने देखिन्छ । त्यसैले गोपालवंशावलीको आधारमा नेपालको प्राचीन ऐतिहासिककाललाई सामान्यतया तीनकालमा विभाजन गर्न सकिन्छ ।

१०२ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम १०, नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२।जुन ८३)

१. गोपाल काल

२. किरात काल

३. लिच्छविकाल

गोपाल काल:

इ. पू. १००० वर्षको अन्तराल संपूर्ण प्रचीन विश्वमा ऐतिहासिककाल शुरू भयो भन्ने विद्वान्हरूको मत छ । यसैताका साइरसले बेबिलोनमाथि अधिकार जमायो र सामन्तराज्यले चाउ राजवंशको अन्त्य ग-यो । एथेन्समा सोलन 'आकन' तथा सवियस तुलियस रोमका राजा भए । यस बीच भारतमा अनेक जनपदहरूको जन्म भयो र नेपालमा पनि गोपाल (गोठाला) हल्ले पहिलो स्वतन्त्र राज्यको जग बसाए ।

गोपालहरूको सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक जीवन कस्तो थियो, वस्त्र, आभूषण र आमोद-प्रमोदका साधनहरू के कस्ता थिए आदि विषयमा हामी बिलकुल अनभिज्ञ छौं । तर यसकालको धार्मिक पद्धतिबारे विचार गर्न सक्ने आधार भने पाइएको छ । त्यो हो गोपालहरूद्वारा पूजित शैव वा पाशुपत धर्म । जो लिङ्गोपासना वा प्रजनन शक्तिका रूपमा प्रायः संसारका प्राचीन सभ्यताहरूमा पाइएका छन्<sup>१०</sup> । प्राचीन नेपालका गोपालहरूसँग सम्बन्ध राख्ने शैवपीठहरूमा पशुपति, गोपालेश्वर र व्याघ्रेश्वर मुख्य हुन् भन्ने कुरा वंशावलीहरूबाट चाल पाइन्छ । यस भन्दा बढी वैज्ञानिक रूपमा खोजी नगरी यस विषयमा बोल्न सक्ने स्थिति छैन ।

किरात काल:

प्राचीन नेपालमा किरातहरूले लामो कालसम्म राज्य गरेका थिए । गोपालवंशावली आदि वंशावलीहरूमा २८ र ३२ पुस्तासम्म किरातहरूले शासन गरेको उल्लेख पाइन्छ । भारतीय प्राचीन साहित्यहरूमा नेपालमा किरातहरूको अस्तित्व घुमिल अवस्थामा रहेका छन् भने लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखहरूमा पाइने अनेक ठाउँहरूका किरात भाषाका नामले हामीलाई किरातकालका विषयमा खोजी गर्न उत्साहित गर्दछन् ।

नेपालमा किरातकालको अस्तित्व भएताका भारतमा ठूलाठूला घटनाहरू भएका थिए । गौतमबुद्ध र महावीर जस्ता ज्ञानीहरूले भारतमा बौद्धधर्म र जैनधर्मको व्यापक प्रचार गरिरहेका थिए । यस बीच मगधका सम्राट अजातशत्रुले मगध साम्राज्यको विस्तार गर्दै थिए भने उत्तर भारतका महाजनपदहरूको अस्तित्व भेटिँदै थियो र लिच्छवि, मल्ल आदि शरणार्थीको रूपमा नेपाल प्रवेश गर्दै थिए ।

भारतमा नन्द, चन्द्र गुप्त मौर्य र अशोकका समयमा नेपालका किरातहरूसँग यिनीहरूको व्यापारिक वा अन्य सम्बन्ध रहेको हुनु पर्दछ । शरणार्थी, व्यापारी वा धर्म प्रचारकका रूपमा नेपाल प्रवेश गरेका भारतीयहरूको संपर्कले नेपालका किरातहरूमा निकै परिवर्तन ल्यायो होला । तर दुखः लाग्दो कुरा यो छ कि नेपालमा लिच्छवि राज्य स्थापना हुनु भन्दा

अगाडिका किरात शासकका नामावली बाहेक अरू संपूर्ण कुराहरू आज अन्धकारमा छन् ।

लिच्छविकालः

नेपालको इतिहासमा लिच्छवि शासनलाई दुई कालमा विभाजन गरिएको छ । मानदेव मन्दा अगाडिको काललाई पूर्व लिच्छविकाल र त्यसभन्दा पछिल्लो काललाई उत्तर लिच्छविकाल ।

माथि चर्चा गरिए फे पूर्व लिच्छविकाल किरातकाल जस्तै अन्धकारमय छ । तर उत्तर लिच्छविकालका विषयमा हामी केही कुराहरू बुझ्न सक्ने स्थितिमा छौं । इ.सं. १६६५ मा हाँडिगाउँ र लाजिमपाटमा भएको उत्खनन तथा अभिलेख, मुद्रा, र केही मूर्तिहरूको आधारमा त्यस बेलाको एकसरो इतिहास तयार पार्न सकिन्छ । तर जबसम्म योजनाबद्ध रूपमा पुरातात्विक उत्खनन हुँदैन तबसम्म उत्तर लिच्छविकालकै पनि संपूर्ण इतिहास तयार पार्न सकिँदैन ।

नेपालमा प्रागैतिहासिककालदेखि लिच्छविकालसम्मको सर्वांगीण इतिहास तयार पार्न पुरातात्विक खोजविना संभव छैन । जबसम्म पुरातत्व-विज्ञानको आधारमा इतिहास लेख्ने परिपाटी बस्दैन तबसम्म प्राचीन नेपालको भरपर्दो इतिहास तयार हुन सक्दैन ।

इ.सं. १६६५ मा पुरातत्व विभागले हाँडिगाउँ र लाजिमपाटको एउटा सीमित क्षेत्रमा उत्खनन गराएको थियो<sup>१९</sup> । त्यहाँ भएको प्रयोगात्मक उत्खननबाट विशेष उपलब्धि हुन नसके पनि लिच्छविकालीन संस्कृतिका कतिपय कुरा प्रकाशमा आएका छन् । हालैका वर्षहरूमा लुम्बिनी र तिलौराकोटमा गरिएका उत्खननकार्य बढा उत्साहवर्धक छन् । तर राष्ट्रिय स्तरमा लेखिने इतिहासको सर्वांगीण रूपरेखा तयार पार्न यतिले मात्र संभव छैन । त्यसैले नेपाल अधिराज्यका अन्य ठाउँहरूमा पनि पुरातात्विक खोजी हुनु अति आवश्यक भएको छ । अहिलेलाई पुरातात्विक खोजी हुनुपर्ने संभाव्य क्षेत्रहरूमा काठमाडौं उपत्यका, दाङ, राप्ती उपत्यका र कर्णालीको जुम्ला उपत्यका मुख्य हुन् । यहाँका पुरातात्विक अवशेषहरूको खोजविना प्राचीन नेपालको इतिहास सधैं विवादग्रस्त र अधूरो रहिरहन्छ ।

काठमाडौं उपत्यकाः

काठमाडौं उपत्यकाका विविध स्थलहरूमा प्राचीनकालदेखिकै भग्नावशेषहरू रहेका छन् । यी भग्नावशेषहरूको विधिवत अध्ययन हुन सकेमा कमसेकम गोपालकालदेखिकै सांस्कृतिक - परंपराको एउटा क्रमबद्ध इतिहास तयार पार्न सकिन्छ । अन्यथा लिच्छविकालको इतिहास नै पनि विवादग्रस्त र अपूर्ण मात्र हुन जान्छ ।

डाड० र रापती उपत्यका:

डाड० र रापती उपत्यकाका मदीका प्रवण दोभ्रमा पुरातन प्रस्तर युग र मध्य प्रस्तर युगीन सभ्यताका चिन्हहरू पाइएका छन् । यहाँ पाइने प्रागैतिहासिक अवशेषहरूको विधिवत् अध्ययन भएमा नेपालको इतिहासमा अति महत्त्वपूर्ण पदको उद्घाटन हुन सक्नेछ ।

जुम्ला उपत्यका:

कर्णाली अन्वल्को जुम्ला उपत्यकामा महा-पाषाणिक सभ्यताका अवशेषहरू प्रशस्त पाइन्छन् । महापाषाणिक वा ताम्रपाषाणिक संस्कृति र खस वा अन्य जातिहरूको प्रसारणका विषयमा खोजी गर्न यी ठाउँहरू अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण छन् र यिनीहरूको विधिवत् अध्ययन हुन सकेमा प्रागैतिहासिक कालदेखि नेपालको इतिहासको एउटा क्रमवद् रूपरेखा तयार पार्न सकिन्छ ।

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## श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहताकाका केही ऐतिहासिक पत्र

धनवज्र वज्राचार्य\*

इतिहास तयार पार्न तत्कालका ऐतिहासिक सामग्री अत्यन्त उपयोगी हुन्छन् । यस कारण प्रामाणिक इतिहास तयार गर्नको लागि पहिले तात्कालिक सामग्रीहरू पत्ता लाई तिनको अध्ययन गर्नु आवश्यक हुन्छ । हाम्रो यहाँ ऐतिहासिक सामग्री यत्र तत्र छरिएर रहेका छन् । तिनलाई प्रकाशमा ल्याउने काम केही भएको छ तापनि यस दोत्रमा योजनाबद्ध रूपमा राम्ररी काम भने अर्को भएको छैन । यसैले नेपालको राष्ट्रिय इतिहास तयार पार्ने सिलसिलामा नयाँ नयाँ ऐतिहासिक सामग्री पत्ता लाग्ने, तिनको अध्ययन गर्ने कुरामा विशेष जोड दिइएको छ ।

त्यसै सिलसिलामा त्रि.वि., नेपाल र एसियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्रको संग्रहमा संकलित हुन आएका ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीमध्ये श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहताकाका पाँच पत्रहरू यहाँ प्रकाशित गर्दैछु । तिनमा चारवटा पत्रका सकल हाल नेपाल र एसियाली अनुसन्धानकेन्द्रको संग्रहमा रहेका छन् । हनुमान् ढोका राजदरबारको अध्ययनको सिलसिलामा श्रीगौतमवज्र वज्राचार्यद्वारा ती पत्र पत्ता लागेका हुन्<sup>१</sup> । एक पत्र (दोस्रो पत्र) चाहिँ कोसी तोसाखानामा रहेको छ । त्यसको नकल श्री टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठद्वारा प्राप्त भएको हो ।

पाँच पत्रमध्ये पहिलो पत्र चन्द्रप्रभावती देवीको हो । सो पत्र वि.सं. १७८७ को हो । पत्र सानो भए पनि तात्कालिक कुरा बुझ्न अत्यन्त उपयोगी रहेको छ । पृथ्वीनारायण शाहलाई अगाडि बढाउनमा जेठी मुमा चन्द्रप्रभावतीको निकै हात रहेको थियो । शुरूमा गोरखालाई विस्तार गर्ने काममा नरभूपाल शाह पनि दत्तचित्त रहेका थिए । पछि उनमा शैथिल्य आउन थाल्यो । कि उनी पुरश्चरण आदि धार्मिक क्रियाकलापमा बढी लहसिन थाले, कि विरक्त भई रहन थाले<sup>२</sup> । पृथ्वीनारायण शाहहरू त्यस बेला बालकै थिए । त्यस अवस्थामा गोरखामा कमजोरी देखापर्ने संभावना थियो । तर चन्द्रप्रभावतीदेवीले त्यो अवस्था आउन दिइनन् । त्यसवेला चन्द्रप्रभावतीले अगाडि बढी प्रशासनको बागडोर सलालिन् । चौतारा (मुख्यमन्त्री), काजीले गर्ने प्रशासनसम्बन्धी कामसमेत चन्द्रप्रभावतीले गरेकी थिइन् । गोरखावंशावलीको शब्दमा 'वांहादेशिन् श्री ५ ज्येठा महारानीबाट सकल राजकाज चौतरिया काजिबाट हुन्थ्यो कामसमेत हुँदो भयो र चौतारा महारानी भनि कहलाउनुहुँदो भयो' भन्ने रहेको छ<sup>३</sup> । यसै हुँदा वंशावलीमा ठाउँ ठाउँमा चन्द्रप्रभावतीलाई 'जेठा चौ-

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१०८ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम १०, नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२।जुन ८३)

तरिया महारानी शब्दले नै सम्बोधन गरिएको पाइन्छ। युवराज हुंदा पृथ्वीनारायण शाहलाई तालीम गर्ने काम पनि चन्द्रप्रभावतीबाट भएथ्यो । वंशावलीमा यस कुराको पनि उल्लेख पाइन्छ<sup>४</sup>।

चन्द्रप्रभावतीको उक्त योगदानको चर्चा वंशावलीमा प्रशस्त भएको पाइन्छ तापनि उक्त कुरालाई देखाउने तात्कालिक प्रमाण भने प्रकाशमा आएको थिएन । अब यहाँ प्रकाशित चन्द्रप्रभावतीको सकल पत्रबाट उपयुक्त कुराको केही पुष्टि भएको छ । वि. सं. १७८७ तिर नै चन्द्रप्रभावती प्रशासनमा सक्रिय रहिसकेको कुरा उक्त पत्रबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । राजकीय प्रशस्तिसहितको उक्त पत्र तात्कालिक कुरा प्रामाणिक रूपमा बुझ्न उपयोगी रहेको स्पष्ट छ ।

यस बेला युवराज पृथ्वीनारायण शाह आठ वर्षका मात्र थिए<sup>५</sup>। राजकाजमा उत्रने उनको उमेर भइसकेको थिएन । तैपनि युवराज पृथ्वीनारायण शाहलाई तालीम गर्नमा चन्द्रप्रभावतीको निकै हात हुनाले वि.सं. १७८७ को चन्द्रप्रभावतीको उक्त पत्र पृथ्वीनारायण शाहका ताकाका पत्रको सिलसिलामा यहाँ समावेश गरिएको हो ।

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दोस्रो पत्र श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहद्वारा नारायण काकीहिल्लाई लेखिएको हो । यस पत्रमा साल दिइएको छैन । मुकाम दहचोक दिइएको छ । दहचोक पृथ्वीनारायण शाहद्वारा वि.सं. १८०३ मा कब्जा गरिएको हो<sup>६</sup>। यस पत्रमा उल्लिखित कुराको विचार गर्दा दहचोक जितिएको लगत्तैपछि यो पत्र लेखिएको अनुमान हुन्छ ।

पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले लिएको नीतिको एक फलक यस पत्रबाट पाइन्छ । कुनै प्रदेश कब्जा गर्न शक्तिप्रयोग गर्नुभन्दा पहिले स्थानीय मानिस हात लिई काम फत्त पार्न सकिन्छ कि भन्ने प्रयास पृथ्वीनारायण शाह गर्दथे । यस पत्रमा पनि बाँसवारी र जितपुरका गढी कब्जा गर्न पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले त्यस्तै प्रयास गरेको कुरा परेको छ । बाँसवारी, जितपुरका गढीका रक्षा नारायण काकीहिल्लाई आफूसँग मिल्न आऊ भनी पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले खबर पठाएका रहेछन् । त्यसो गर्दा हामी कुल्याहा कल्लाउनेछौं तथा हामीलाई पाप लाग्नेछ भन्ने अभिप्राय नारायण काकीहिल्ले पृथ्वीनारायण शाहमा जाहेर गरेछन् । त्यसै सिलसिलामा यो पत्र लेखिएको हो ।

नुनको सोफो गर्नु सेवकको कर्तव्य मानिन्छ<sup>७</sup> । नुनको सोफो गर्न सोज्नेलाई नुनको सोफो नगर भनी सोफो सिकाउनु राजोचित भएन । यस कारण यस पत्रमा पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले बडो चातुर्यको प्रयोग गरेका छन् । यो पत्र लेखिएताका बाँसवारी, जितपुरमेकमा मल्ल राजाहरूको प्रभुत्व राम्ररी कायम रहेको थिएन, पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले पनि ती प्रदेश कब्जा गरिसकेका थिएनन् । ती प्रदेश पत्रकै पनि जयप्रकाशमल्लका हातमा रहने होइनन्; तिमीहरूले अहिले सोफो मल्ल राजाहरूको नुन खाएका पनि छैनौं; यस कारण हाम्रा मानिस पठाइएका छन्; तिनीहरूलाई गढमित्र पस्न देऊ; तिमीहरू बसतमै मिल्न आए तिमीहरूलाई पनि बढिया हुनेछ; यसबाट तिमीहरूलाई कुनै कलङ्क लाग्नेछैन भन्ने आशयको कुरा चित्त बुझ्दो ढंगले यहाँ व्यक्त गरिएको छ । शत्रुपक्षलाई मझकाउँदा पनि सकभर उचित मार्गको

अवलम्बन गर्ने पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको प्रयास रहेको भलक यताबाट पाइन्छ ।

यसरी पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको नीतिबारे अलिकता भए पनि प्रकाश पार्ने यो पत्र उपयोगी हु मन्ने स्पष्ट हु ।

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तेस्रो पत्र वि.सं. १८११ को हो । मकवानपुरका राजा हेमकर्णसिनलाई विजयकर्काले करार-पत्र को रूपमा यो पत्र लेखिदिएको हो । त्यस वेलाको एक समस्यालाई दर्शाउने हुनाले यो पत्र यहाँ समावेश गरिएको हो । नेपालको राजनैतिक इतिहासमा यो वेला संक्रमण-कालको रूपमा रहेको थियो । यस वेला एकातिर गोरखाले नेपालको एकीकरणको लागि अघि बढ्ने प्रयास गरिरहेको थियो भने अर्कोतिर अरू राज्य पनि पहिलेभन्दा निकै सक्रिय र सावधान रहन लागेका थिए<sup>८</sup> । आक्रमण, प्रत्याक्रमण र आफ्नो आफ्नो बचाउको लागि सबै राज्यले सैनिक गतिविधि निकै मात्रामा बढाउन लागेका थिए । यसो हुनाले योग्यता भएका लडाका व्यक्तिको माग बढेको थियो । आयुधजीवी रूपका व्यक्तिहरू एक राज्यबाट अर्को राज्यमा आश्रयका लागि जान्थे र उनीहरूले आश्रय पनि सजिलैसँग पाउँथे । तर यसले समस्या पनि सृष्ट गरेका थियो । आफ्नै सेवक र बाहिरबाट आश्रयमा आउने यस्ता व्यक्ति-लाई कति मात्रामा विश्वास गर्ने र तिनीहरूलाई कसरी आफ्नो वशमा राख्ने । यसको प्रचलित एक उपाय 'करारपत्र' लेखाउने रहेको थियो ।

यस्तै अवस्थामा मकवानपुरका राजा हेमकर्णसिनले विजयकर्कालाई 'करारपत्र' लेखाइएको हो । जहान झोराझोरीसहित मकवानपुरमै बसी हेमकर्णसिनलाई धनी (मालिक) मानी सेवा गर्ने, मकवानपुर नछोड्ने वचन यहाँ विजयकर्काले दिएको हुन् । केही गरी जानैप-यो भने भागेर होइन, राजासँग विधिपूर्वक विदा मागेर जाने शर्त पनि यस करार-पत्रमा रहेको हु । शर्त पूरा नगरे सर्वस्व लिन पाइने चर्चा यसमा हु । दगा गलान् भनी जहान झोराहरूलाई अधीनमा लिने प्रचलन त्यसवेला सबैतिर प्रचलित थियो<sup>९</sup> । हेमकर्णसिनले पनि त्यही नीति लिएका हुन् ।

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चौथो पत्र पनि निकै रोचक हु । एकीकरण अभियानताकाको अवस्थामा यस पत्रबाट केही प्रकाश पर्छ । योग्य सैनिक तयार पार्नको लागि पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले योग्यताको कदर गर्ने नीति लिएका थिए । "राजाले विवेक राखी दिया देस देसका सिपाहि पनि आसा राखी आउनुहुन् र यस्व भया तरवारिया सिपाहि हात लाग्नु" भनी पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले बोलेका हुन्<sup>१०</sup> । हुन पनि लडाइँमा योग्यता देखाउनेलाई पदोन्नति गरिदिने, सिरपाउ दिने आदि काम पृथ्वीनारायण शाह गर्दथे । यसले गर्दा सैनिकहरूको हौसला बढ्दथ्यो र उनीहरू सुरिएर काम गर्दथे ।

११० सि एन ए एस जर्नल, भोलम १०, नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२।जुन८३)

योग्यताको कदर गर्ने, जस दिने सिलसिलामा कहिलेकहीँ तलमाथि पनि पदों रहेछ । मिहिनेत गर्ने एकथरी, जस पाउने अर्को थरी पनि हुंदो रहेछ । यस्तो बेला मिहिनेत गर्नेको चित्त दुख्नु स्वामाविक छ । यस पत्रमा त्यस्तै चित्त दुखेको कुरा परेको छ । फुलवारीका दुइ ठाना कब्जा गरेको सिलसिलामा मिहिनेत गर्ने सबैले जस पाएनन्, केहीले मात्र जस पाएनन् । यो त पक्कापात भयो, राम्रो भएन भन्ने अभिप्रायले यस पत्रमा उक्त लडाइँमा भाग लिई धाइते हुनेहरूको लामो विवरण दिइएको छ । यस कुराको जाहेरी श्री ५ मा गर्न भनी कपटार सुरसिंह रानाहल्लाई लक्ष्मण राना, प्रतिमन रानाहल्ले यो उजुरी पत्र लेखेका हुन् ।

यस उजुरीमा पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले कस्तो कार्बाइ गर्ने भन्ने थाहा पाइएको छैन । “राजाले विवेक राखी दिया देस देसका सिपाहि पनि आसा राखी आउनुहुन्” भनी बोल्ने पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले उक्त कुराको सुनवाई अवश्य पनि गरेको हुनुपर्छ । जे होस्, पत्र निकै रोचक छ तथा तात्कालिक केही कुरा बुझ्न उपयोगी रहेको छ ।

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अन्तिम पत्र तनहुँका राजा त्रिविक्रमसेनको हो । यसमा साल दिइएको छैन । मुकाम देउघाट दिइएको छ । नेपाल-उपत्यकाका मल्ल राजाका गुरुज्यू देवानन्द उपाध्यायलाई यो पत्र लेखिएको हो । देवानन्द उपाध्यायमार्फत उपत्यकाका मल्लराजाहरूले तनहुँ आदि चौबीसी राज्यसँग गुहार मागेको बुझिन्छ । त्यस सिलसिलामा गुहारको लागि लमजुंग पाल्पा र तनहुँको संयुक्त फौज हिँडेको उल्लेख यस पत्रमा परेको छ । कसको विरुद्ध फौज हिँडेको हो, सो यस पत्रबाट खुल्दैन । तर प्रसंग विचार गर्दा गोरखाको विरुद्ध गुहार दिइएको हो भन्ने देखिन्छ । तनहुँका त्रिविक्रमसेन पनि चल्तापूर्वा शासक थिए । यसै हुँदा पृथ्वीनारायण शाहसँग यिनको टक्कर परिरहन्थ्यो । एकचोटि त फुक्याएर पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले त्रिविक्रमसेनलाई कैद गरेथे<sup>११</sup> । तर पछि छोडिदिएका थिए । यसले गर्दा त्रिविक्रमसेन पृथ्वीनारायण शाहका फन् विरोधी बने । लमजुङ र पाल्पाको समेत सहायताले उपत्यकाबाट पृथ्वीनारायण शाहलाई हटाउने सुरमा त्रिविक्रमसेन लागेको यस पत्रबाट देखिन्छ । यसका लागि नेपाल-उपत्यकाका तीन मल्ल राजाहरूमा मेल गराउनु अभीष्ट थियो । यसैले “तीनै नेपालको एकचित्त गरी कार्य उठाव” भनी यस पत्रमा भनिएको छ । नेपाल-उपत्यकाको उद्धार गर्ने त्रिविक्रमसेनको यो प्रयास सफल भएन ।

तात्कालिक राजनैतिक इतिहासमा प्रामाणिक रूपमा केही प्रकाश पार्ने हुनाले यो पत्र पनि उपयोगी रहेको छ भन्ने स्पष्ट छ ।

श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहताकाका केही ऐतिहासिक पत्र १११

मूल पत्रहरू

(१)

श्री दुर्गा

१. स्वस्ति श्रीगिरिराजचक्रबूडामणि नरनारायणोत्यादि विविधविरुदा-
२. वलिविराजमान मानोन्नत महाराजाधिराजराज्ञी श्रीश्रीश्रीमच्चन्द्र-
३. प्रभावतिदेविनां सदा सौभाग्यवतिनाम् ली -
४. आगे इश्वर पाध्याके अधिला मुहुडामहां जुर्ग २ दिनु, तेम-
५. ध्ये रुपैया ४१ अदारेपि येक चालिस् चुक्या वांकि ना रह्या
६. एक जुर्ग उधारा दिनु इस वातक साहि श्रीअटल साह लिष-
७. क साहि विश्वामित्र जैसि इति संवत् १७८७ श्रावन वदि १- रो ६ शुभ

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श्री दुर्गा

१. स्वस्ति श्रीगिरिराजचक्रबूडामणि नरनारायणोत्यादि विविधविरुदा-
  २. वलीविराजमान मानोन्नत श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीश्रीमत्पृ-
  ३. थ्वीनारायण साहदेवानां सदा समरविजयिनाम्
  ४. स्वस्ति श्रीनारान् कार्की १ रणासिं णाहुका १ दलणाम्ब थापा १ अनंत
  ५. ज्यु १ विश्राम धामि १ अभिमान राउल १ रंजित् णातृ १ अम्बर्सिं थापा १
  ६. धनाज् णातृ १ उत्तिम ण्णु १ जित्य त्या १ विष्णुराम्याके आशीषपूर्व-
  ७. कपत्रमिदं याहां कुशल ताहां कुशल चाहि आगे याहांको समाचार म-
  ८. लो क. उप्रान्त त्यो बांसवारी जितपुर लिक्न आउंदा हामिकन प-
  ९. हार लागला कि मनि पठाया हौ, नून मन्या जयप्रकाशको णाई
  १०. बस्याहौ त्यो जग्गा जयप्रकाशका हात रहैन्या मया तिमिहरु-
  ११. ले त्यो काम् गन्या होईन जयप्रकाशको र रनजितको नून तिमि-
  १२. हल्ले णायाको हैन त्यो गढ तनका हात सोप्ता चाहि हाम्रा हा
  १३. तहात सोंप र आउ तिम्रो सेवा पनि जाहीर होला तिम्रो बढी बढा-
  १४. ई पनि होला कुलको पदवी तिमिहरु लागन्या हैन त्यो पद्मा-
  १५. र कदाचित् लागन्याहैन, उप्रांत हाम्रा मानिस पठाई दियाका क-
  १६. न् हाम्रा मानिसकन गढमित्र पस्न देउ. उप्रांत तिम्रा हौराहो-
  १७. रि अधी मास्याका मया पनि तिमिहरुसित आउन्याकन माफै
  १८. क चिंता नमान, किमधिक विज्ञेषु कार्तिक शुदि ३ रोज ७ मुकाम
- (केउमा-)

दहचोक शुभम्

११२ सि एन ए एस जनल, मोलम १०, नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२।जुन८३)

(क्रेउमा-)

दहचोक शुभम्

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श्री ३

१. स्वस्ति श्रीसेवक विजै कार्किले विस्वास करारपत्र लिप्तिदित्रौ मा-
२. णा एति कुलकविलासहित मकवानपुर वसनु कुलधुल न-
३. गर्नु छिप्रौ पातलो नगर्नु, श्रीश्रीमहाराजा हेमकर्णसेनजिकन श्रीधनि नबुफाह मकवानपु -
४. र ह्वाडि जाया लुटिलिनु कि धनि बुफा णानु कि धनि बुफाउ-
५. नसक्या विदा मागि जानु विदा नमागि जाया लुटिलिनु
६. इति सम्बत् १८११ मुकाम हरिहरपुरकोट शुभम् -

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श्रीशिवो जयती

१. स्वस्ती श्रीसर्वोपमायोग्य राजभारासामर्थ श्रीकपदीर शुरसिंह राना तथा श्रीमानसि-
२. हर्षाङ्काकेषुः लिः इत श्रीलक्ष्मि राना तथा श्रीविरसिंह ष्ण्डका तथा श्रीपर्सिमन रा-
३. ना तथा श्रीरामेश्वर रानाकस्य सेवा ६ शुभाशिषापूर्वकपत्रमिदं इहाँ कुशल तौ-
४. हौ कुशल दोम चाहिये जेहि ते परमानन्द होइ.आगे इहको समाचार भलो ह्, उप्रा-
५. त फुलवारिको ठाना मिचिउं दुइ ठाना थियो, माथिल्लो ठाना त मकवानिसमे जो थि-
६. यो सब जना मिलिकन फोन्च्यो, उप्रांत तल्लो ठानामाँहाँ धादिग फ्लांचोक गरि च्या-
७. त्या,विरुलाइ काम्प्राकोट राष्यो लक्ष्मिन रान पर्सिमन रानारामेसोर राना स-
८. मेत गरि फुलवारि गयाको थियो, तिमिहेल्लाह र धादिग्या द्वाभ्यालाह जस दि-
९. या, फ्लांचोक्याले तिप्रो नावें टेक्यो धादिग्या वरबाले तिप्रो नाव पनि टेक्यो
१०. दुवा-याको नावें पनि टेक्यो उप्रांत हाम्रा फ्लांचोक्या धादिग्याको धाइताको
११. लिणा उप्रांत उमरा जसधर रानाले दुइ तरवारले हान्यो, आफुलाइ णोडाको घा ह्
१२. जेठाको कोरा पिहुवर्त्तले धनुले २ हान्यो, आफुलाइ ढुंगाको घा ह्, मिवा आले-
१३. कन ढुंगाको घा ह्, गंगाराम रानाले धनुले २ हान्यो, किन्या रानाले णोडाले एक
१४. हान्यो, उमराको कमारालाह गर्गजको घा ह्, उप्रांत वरबाले लिणा तुल्या
१५. आलेलाइ ढुंगाको घा ह्, रनसिं थापाले णोडाले एक हान्यो आफुलाइ णोडाको
१६. घा ह्, भ्यापु थापाले काँढले १ हान्यो, आफुलाइ ढुंगाको घा ह्, रामकोटमा बुढा-
१७. थोकिले णोडाले तिन हान्यो, आफुलाइ णोडाको घा ५ ह्, मेघवर्न थापाले णोडा
१८. ले १ हान्यो, आफुलाइ णोडाको घा ह्, गोवर्धन थापाले णोडाले २ हान्यो

आफुलाइ

१९. णाँडाको घा ह, हरिधापाले णाँडाले १ हान्यो, आफुलाइ णाँडाको घा ह रामुधापाले
२०. काँढले १ हान्यो आफुलाइ ढुंगाको घा ह, जस्कन आलेकन ढुंगाको घा ह, रंसि घ
२१. तिकन ढुंगाको घा ह, चामु णाँडाकन गगोजको घा ह नाषामाहा जस्या णाँडा-
२२. कन गोलिको घा ह पेटमाहा गोलिमित्र ह, गिर्घर थापाकन ढुंगाको घा ह, चौ-
२३. किकन ढुंगाको घा ह, राध्या राउतकन ढुंगाको घा ह, रनसि गुहले काँढले १ हा-
२४. न्यो आफुलाइ ढुंगाको घा ह, रजित घर्तिलाइ ढुंगाको घा ह, न-या घर्तिले काढ-
२५. ले २ हान्यो, दुलाल धाट्या माफिले काँढले १ हान्यो, रत्नमनि आलेले णाँडाले १ हा-
२६. न्यो घा फुट्याको थलियाको मात्र लेणिउ, घा नफुट्याको नथलियाको त लेणिनउ-
२७. प्रांत घादिग्या घाइताको लिषा, मगिरत् थापाले एक णाँडाले हान्यो, आफ्नो म-
२८. तिजा दुवैले हान्यो, आफुलाइ णाँडाको घा ह दुवा-याको माह जयंत रानाले काँ
२९. ढले २ हान्यो सणमनि रानालाइ ढुंगाको घा ह जस्कण थापाले काँढले १
३०. हान्यो, अवसि थापाले धनुले १ हान्यो, विजमनि थापाले काँढले १ हान्यो, हैम
३१. थापाले धनुले १ हान्यो, धंविर् थापाकन ढुंगाको घा ह, अतिवल णाँडाक-
३२. न ढुंगाको घा ह, दल्या वानीजाले णाँडाले १ हान्यो, आफुलाइ ढुंगाको घा
३३. ह, विराजित रानाले बंदुकले १ हान्यो, णागर बानिजालाइ ढुंगाको घा ह,
३४. जगतमनि आलेले णाँडाले १ हान्या, वांहा वलरानाको माइले णाँडाले १ हा-
३५. न्या, अर्कीलाइ ढुंगाको घा ह, अजित थापालाइ ढुंगाको घा ह, जुट्या थापाले
३६. काँढले २ हान्यो, कुल्दीप थापालाइ ढुंगाको घा ह, नराज थापालाइ ढु-
३७. गाको घा ह, वि-या अधिकारि णस्यो, हर्वन् रानाले धनुले १ हान्यो, आफु-
३८. लाइ ढुंगाको घा ह, पर्गतले णाँडाले १ वह्राले १ हान्यो, धुवाँकोट्या ठाकुरको के-
३९. टा दुइले काँढले हान्यो, उप्रांत ताँहां श्री ५ जिउकेउ जाहिर गर, यसपालि इनिहरू-
४०. को णवर नग-या तिमिपहि एक कुकुर पनि नबस्न्या, जाहिर गर उप्रांत लखि-
४१. मन रानालाइ संक्रातिको दिन काम ह, जाउ र चाँडो आया मनि हुकुम म-
४२. याको हो, ज्या हुकुम सो सहि जाहिर गरिदिनुहवस् विज्ञेणु किमधिक मि-
४३. ति माघ कृष्ण १४ रोज ५ मुकाम काभ्याकोट शुभम् -

(हेउमा-)

उप्रांत उमरा जेठाकुटा २ सब वरलाको सलाम १ -- जैराज राना जै-या अरु केटाहरू -  
को सेव १५

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श्रीसांबशिवः

श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायणः सहायः

१. स्वस्ति
  १. स्वस्ति श्रीश्वरचरणसरोरुहस्मरणेत्यादि श्रीरा-
  २. मन्त्रव्रशोद्भव सदासमाराधीतसांवशिवलक्ष्मी-
  ३. नारायण श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीश्रीश्रीमन्मूप-
  ४. वर त्रिविक्रमसेनदेवदेवानां सदा समरविजयि-
  ५. नाम् -
  ६. स्वस्ति श्री सर्वोपमाज्योग्यराजमारासामर्थी श्री-
  ७. देवानंद उपाध्याकेषु प्रणामपूर्वकपत्रमि-
  ८. दं इहा कुशल तहा कुशल चाहीय आगे हं-
  ९. हाको हकीगत भलो ह्. उप्रांत इहा तनहुं
  १०. लम्जु पाल्पा बसी मतो गरी सरदार सुद्धा फ-
  ११. उद आयो तहाका तिमि श्रेष्ठ हो तिनै नेपा-
  १२. लको एक चित्त गरी कार्य उठाव इहाकन
  १३. सांच पठाइदेउ नेपालको उद्धार जौन प्रका-
  १४. र गरी वंदह आफु प्रवीणै हौ. विज्ञेषु किम-
- (हेउमा-)

धिकम् इतः चैत्रवदि ५ रो २. मु. देवघाट शुभम् -



टिप्पणी-

१. यी उपयोगी पत्र उपलब्ध गराइदिएकोमा गौतमवज्र वज्राचार्यलाई धन्यवाद छ ।
२. नयराज पन्त र अरू 'श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेश' जगदम्बा प्रकाशन, ललितपुर, वि.सं.२०२५, पृष्ठ ६४३, ६४६
३. नयराज पन्त र अरू 'श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेश' पृ. ६४७-४८
४. 'श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेश' पृ. ६५६
५. 'श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेश' पृ. ३८८-६०
६. 'श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेश' पृ. ७७१
७. श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले पनि आफ्नो दिव्योपदेशमा 'ष्वा मित्को तुन्को उधार गर्नु' भनी बोलेको छन् ।
८. 'श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेश' पृ. ३२५
८. लम्जुङ, कास्की, तनहुँ, पर्वत, पाल्पा आदिको तात्कालिक इतिहासमा दृष्टि दिएर यो कुरा थाहा पाइन्छ ।
९. त्रिरत्नसौन्दर्यगाथा, श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहका पत्रहरू र अन्त पनि यस कुराका अनेक उदाहरण पाइन्छन् ।
१०. 'श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेश' पृ. ३२७
११. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ 'शाहकालका अभिलेख' (पहिलो भाग) त्रि० वि०, नेपाल र एसियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र, वि.सं.२०३७, पृ. ६३-६६



॥ स्वस्ति श्रीगिरिराजेश्वर उग्रमणिरत्नरायणाय नमः ॥ दिविधि विरुद  
वस्ति विरजमानमूर्ते नमस्तत्पराज्जाधिराजराज्ञी श्री श्री श्री श्री  
भावति देवि मां सदा सौभाग्यवति नमः ॥ श्री ॥  
॥ १ ॥ इत्युक्तं ध्यायेत् श्रीगुरुं तदा मुमुक्षुतामलां तु रीतिरिति नमः  
॥ २ ॥ इत्युक्तं ध्यायेत् श्रीगुरुं तदा मुमुक्षुतामलां तु रीतिरिति नमः  
॥ ३ ॥ इत्युक्तं ध्यायेत् श्रीगुरुं तदा मुमुक्षुतामलां तु रीतिरिति नमः  
॥ ४ ॥ इत्युक्तं ध्यायेत् श्रीगुरुं तदा मुमुक्षुतामलां तु रीतिरिति नमः  
॥ ५ ॥ इत्युक्तं ध्यायेत् श्रीगुरुं तदा मुमुक्षुतामलां तु रीतिरिति नमः  
॥ ६ ॥ इत्युक्तं ध्यायेत् श्रीगुरुं तदा मुमुक्षुतामलां तु रीतिरिति नमः  
॥ ७ ॥ इत्युक्तं ध्यायेत् श्रीगुरुं तदा मुमुक्षुतामलां तु रीतिरिति नमः  
॥ ८ ॥ इत्युक्तं ध्यायेत् श्रीगुरुं तदा मुमुक्षुतामलां तु रीतिरिति नमः  
॥ ९ ॥ इत्युक्तं ध्यायेत् श्रीगुरुं तदा मुमुक्षुतामलां तु रीतिरिति नमः  
॥ १० ॥ इत्युक्तं ध्यायेत् श्रीगुरुं तदा मुमुक्षुतामलां तु रीतिरिति नमः



Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a form of Urdu or Persian, arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. The script is dense and flowing, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The text is written in black ink on a light background.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a form of Urdu or Persian, arranged in approximately 5 horizontal lines. The script is dense and flowing, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The text is written in black ink on a light background.



Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a form of Urdu or Persian, arranged in approximately 2 horizontal lines. The script is dense and flowing, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The text is written in black ink on a light background.

श्री३

श्रीश्री महाराजाहेमकप्रियेन शिकन

ससि श्रीसेवकावे ज्ञेका किले विस्वसकरा पत्रलिपिदिजे मा  
षायति कुलकविलासहितमकवानपुरवसनुकुलधुलन  
गनु द्विजोपातलो नगनु श्रीधनिनवुगाइ मकवानपु  
रका डिजायालु टिलेनु किधनिवुगाषाजु किधनिवुगाउ  
नसका विदा मागि जानु विदान मागि जाया ॥ बुद्धिलिनु  
इतिसावत १८१९ मुकाम हरिहरपुरकोट सुभमः

## काजी युक्ला थुप प्रति नेपालले लिएको नीति

त्रिरत्न मानन्धर\*

केही वर्ष अगाडि यसै जर्नलमा सिक्किमका काजी युक्ला थुपको नेपालमा शरण बोरे एउटा लेख प्रकाशित भएको थियो<sup>१</sup> । त्यसमा नेपालले काजी युक्ला थुपलाई शरण दिनाको कारण वारे लेखक द्वयले आफ्नो विचार यसरी व्यक्त गर्नु भएको छ -- "सुगौली सन्धिको फलस्वरूप मेची देखि पूर्वतिरका प्रदेश गुमाउनु परेको कुरा नेपाल सरकारलाई खटकिरहेको थियो । यस कारण नेपाल सरकारले काजी युक्ला थुप र उनका साथ शरण लिनु आएका सिक्किमवासीहरूलाई सुसी साथ शरण दियो । यिनीहरूबाट दुइ कुराको लाभ उठाउने विचार नेपाल सरकारले ग-यो । पहिलो-यिनीहरू मार्फत सिक्किममा आफ्नो राजनैतिक प्रभाव फैलाउने । दोस्रो - यी शरणार्थीहरू र मविष्यमा आउने यस्तै अरु शरणार्थीहरूबाट जनशक्ति प्राप्त गरी इलामभेकका इलाका आवद्धगराउने... हुन पनि यी शरणार्थीहरू मार्फत नेपाल सरकारले सिक्किमका इलाका मित्र केही गडवडी पनि उठाएको थियो<sup>२</sup> ।

यी शरणार्थीहरूबाट इलाम भेकका इलाका आवद्ध गराउने नेपालको उद्देश्य वारे त दुइ मत छैन । तर जहाँ सम्म यी शरणार्थीहरू मार्फत सिक्किमका इलाका मित्र गडवडी उत्पन्न गराएर नेपाल त्यस देशमा आफ्नो राजनैतिक प्रभाव वढाउन चाहन्थ्यो भन्ने प्रश्न छ, हालसालै परराष्ट्र मंत्रालय, काठमाडौंमा प्राप्त कागजपत्रहरूले यस कुराको खण्डन गरेका छन् । प्रस्तुत लेखमा यिनै अप्रकाशित कागजपत्रहरूका आधारमा काजी युक्ला थुप प्रति नेपालले लिएको नीतिवारे केही चर्चा गरिएको छ ।

विक्रमको उन्नाइसौं शताब्दीको मध्य सम्म सिक्किममा वसोवास गर्ने मुख्य दुइ जाति थिए- लेप्चा र मोटे । लेप्चाहरू शुद्धदेखिनै सिक्किममा वसोवास गर्दै आएका थिए भने मोटेहरू चाहिँ विक्रमको सत्रौं शताब्दी तिर त्यस देश मित्र पसेका थिए । सिक्किमको निर्माणमा यी मोटेहरूले महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिएकोले उनीहरू लेप्चाहरूमन्दा अगाडि परे । तर यो कुरा लेप्चाहरूले सहेनन् र विक्रमको अठारौं शताब्दीको अन्तिम दशकतिर उनीहरूले विद्रोह गरे । लेप्चाहरूलाई प्रशासनमा वढीमात्रामा शरिक गराउने कुराको आश्वासन दिएपछि यो विद्रोह त शान्त भयो तर लेप्चाहरू र मोटेहरू बीचको वैमनस्य कायमै रह्यो<sup>३</sup> ।

\* उहाँ इतिहास-शिक्षण-समिति, कीर्तिपुर बहुमुखी क्याम्पसमा सहप्राध्यापक हुनुहुन्छ ।

११८ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम, नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२/जुन ८३)

पृथ्वीनारायण शाह द्वारा नेपालको एकीकरणको सुरुवात भए पछि नेपालको सिक्किम संग पटक पटक संघर्ष भइरह्यो<sup>४</sup> । यसले गर्दा सिक्किम भित्रको गृहकलहले उग्ररूप लिन पाएको थिएन । तर नेपाल-अंग्रेज युद्ध पछि वि.सं. १८७२ को अन्ततिर भएको सुगौली सन्धि र त्यसको करीव एक वर्ष पछि भएको अंग्रेज-सिक्किम सन्धिले स्थितिमा नयाँ मोड ल्यायो । यी दुवै सन्धिहरू द्वारा नेपाल र सिक्किम बीच कुनै विवाद उत्पन्न भएमा अंग्रेज सरकारले मध्यस्थता गरी छिन्न पाउने भयो र सिक्किमले नेपालले कब्जा गरिराखेको आफ्ना केही भू-भाग अंग्रेजहरूको माध्यम बाट फिर्ता पायो<sup>५</sup> । यस प्रकार नेपाल तर्फ बाट प्रायः निश्चिन्त भए पछि सिक्किम भित्रको षडयन्त्रात्मक राजनीतिको पुर्नजन्म भयो । अंग्रेजहरू संग सन्धि भएको दुइ वर्ष पछि नै भोटेहरू द्वारा समर्थित सिक्किमका राजा सुग्फु नामगेले र उनका मामा लेप्चा मुख्यमन्त्री चाँद जोक वोलेक (नेपाली कागज पत्रहरूमा यीनलाई इकुन्दा भनी उल्लेख गरिएको छ र सिक्किम ग्याजेटर मा चाँही मो-लोदे) बीच संघर्ष सुरु भयो तर यसले उग्र रूप भने लिन पाएन<sup>६</sup> । यसको सात वर्ष पछि अर्थात् वि. सं. १८८३ मा यी दुइ बीच फेरि संघर्ष प्रारम्भ भयो । सिक्किमको राजधानी सार्ने कुरालाई लिएर यी दुइ बीच कलह भएको थियो भनी लेखिएको पाइन्छ<sup>७</sup> । तर लेप्चा मुख्य मन्त्री माथि मुख्य आरोप उनले सिक्किमका जनताले आफ्ना राजा छेउ पठाएका बहुमुल्य सौगातहरू बीचमा हात लगाए भन्ने थियो । जे होस, यस गृह युद्धले मयानक रूप लियो । चाँद जोक वोलेक (इकुन्दा) आफ्नी पत्नी र दुइ छोराहरू सहित मारिए र उनका भाइ (भतिजा ?) युक्ला थुप आफ्ना करीव ८०० समर्थकहरूका साथ ज्यान जोगाउन पूर्वी नेपाल भित्र पसे<sup>८</sup> ।

शुरूमा सिक्किमबाट केवल पाँच जना लिम्बु लेप्चा नेपाल भित्र पसेका थिए । सुब्बा जयंत खत्रीले यस कुराको सूचना तुरुन्तै नेपाल सरकार छेउ गरे । वि.सं. १८८३ साल माघ सुदी ६ रोज ६ मा भीमसेन थापालाई लेखेको पत्रमा 'गान्तुक (वाट) ५ जना लिम्बु ल्याप्च्या आइ पुग्या सुणिम्याका घर कल परेछ भोट्या राजाले इकुन्दा काजीको सन्तान दाज्यू भाइ याँहा वाट गयाका पुराना मानीस लिम्बु लाप्च्या सवै लाई पक्रदै काट्दै गरेछ सवै भागी गोर्णा पसनन् भनी राजाका मानीस सीवाना सीवानामा वसि रह्या छन् हाम्रो र ह प्रजा प्राणिको धर्मले उ सरन पिछा प-याँ भनै आइरह्याछन् क्या जवाव दिन्या हो' भन्ने कुरा उल्लेख गरिएको थियो<sup>९</sup> । यस पत्रको जवाफ मा नै नेपाल सरकारले यी शरणार्थीहरू प्रति आफ्नो दृष्टिकोण स्पष्ट पारेको थियो । वि.सं. १८८३ साल फाल्गुण व दि १ रोज २ मा सुब्बा जयंत खत्रीलाई पठाएको पत्रमा 'फिरींगीको र हाम्रो बंदोवस्त छ सुणीम फिरींगीको तावे छ ताहाँ का जायी वजायी फिरींगी सुनला त्यो कुरो हामीलाई सुनु बढीया हैन आफ्ना सिवाना सम्मको हेरचाह गर्दै आफ्ना जगामा हुसियार णवदारी भै रहनु उनका मानीस आफ्नै जानले भागी नसि तिम्रा जगामा वसन देउ भन आया भन्या

विचार गरी पछि आफूले पन्नी पु-याउनु पर्‍या डवलका मानिस लाई भन्‍या वसन नदिनु उस्ता वाहिक अरु वसन देउ भन आउहन भन्‍या वसन दिनु आफूले मद्दत दी पट्टी उठाइ ल्याउना काम नगर्नु भनी लेखिएको थियो<sup>१०</sup>।

यसवाट सिक्किमको मामिलामा हस्तक्षेप गर्ने अंग्रेजहरूको अधिकार लाई नेपाल चुनौति दिन चाहँदैनथ्यो र सिमानामा गडबड गरी नेपाल लाई गाल पार्ने खालका मानिसलाई पनि शरण दिन चाहँदैनथ्यो भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन आउछ ।

यसको केही दिन पछि नै काजी युक्ला थुप र उनका सयौं समर्थकहरू नेपाल भित्र पसे । अब नेपालले ती सबै शरणार्थीहरूलाई वास नदिने त प्रश्न नै आएन । तर पनि नेपाल सरकार ले पठाएको निर्देशनमा "आफूले उलक्याइ मद्दत दि भन्‍या नल्याउनु आफ्नै ज्ञानले आउन्‍या लाई र याँहाका रैती बाँहा जाँह्नु बाँहाका रैती याँहा आउह्नु पीछा माग्न जति आयो भन्‍या सीवानाका नजीक नराख्नु सीवाना देशी वल्लै पट्टी कमाइ खाना माफ्नी जग्गा दी सलतन गरी राख्नुका काम गर्नु भन्ने कुरा उल्लेख गरिएको थियो<sup>११</sup>।

शरणार्थीहरूको खाना र वास सम्बन्धि चाहिँ नेपाल सरकारले राम्रो वंदोवस्त गरि दिएको थियो । भीमसेन थापाले काजी युक्ला थुपलाई पठाएको पत्रमा "कौनै वातको सन्देह मान्नु पर्दैन आफ्ना खातिजामा संग सुवाका साथ रही निमक समजी रहन्‍या काम गर खाना दानाको वंदोवस्तको पनि लाल मोहर मै आयाको छ सुवा मार्फत वंदोवस्त हुन्‍या काम होला भन्ने कुरा उल्लेख भएको थियो<sup>१२</sup>।

खान र वस्नको लागि प्रसस्त सुविधा दिइता पनि नेपालले यी शरणार्थीहरूलाई सिक्किम विरुद्ध कुनै कारवाही गर्न छुट वा प्रोत्साहन दिएको थिएन । वि.सं. १८८८ को सुल्हमा युक्ला थुपले सिमानामा वसि सिक्किमका भू-भाग मा गडबडमच्चाउने उद्देश्यले नेपाल सरकार संग मद्दत मागेका थिए । तर नेपाल सरकारले उनको अनुरोधलाई कडा शब्दहरूमा अस्वीकार गर्नाको साथै त्यस्तै नीति अपनाए उनलाई नै सिक्किम घपाइदिने धम्की समेत दिएको थियो । वि.सं. १८८८ साल द्वितीय वैशाख सुदि ६ रोज ३ मा भीमसेन थापाले काजी वालनसिंह कुवरलाई लेखेको पत्रको सम्बन्धित अंश यस प्रकारको छ:-

"उप्रांत युक्ला थुपले सुष्णिम्या सित इत्तराजी गर्न आँटी गुहार मार्गी पठायाका कुरा लाई तेरो घर गरी दियाको त्यो काम तैले आँटया बढीया ह्वेन तेस्तो आँटीस त त जानु भ्या कुराको जवाव दीनु भन्‍या सुवा रणसुर मंहारीलाई लेखी पठाउन्‍या काम बढीया मयेछ हाम्रा येस्तरफ तेस्लाई मद्दत दन्‍या काम बढीया छैन गुहार दीन्‍या काम नगर्नु युक्ला थुपमा गर (?) गरी दियामा सुष्णिम्या सित तेस डवल संग तक्रार गर्न आट्या पछि अघि लेखी गया बमोजीमका मानीस लाई हाम्रा मुलुकमा राख्नुका काम बढीया छैन काजीका भतिजा लाई पनि हाम्रा मुलुकवाट पठाइ दिनु भन्‍या सबै विस्तार सुवा रणसुर लाई लेखी गयाको छ ताहा वाट पनि सोइ कुराको मदत राख्नुका काम र आफ्नु



हुसीयारी राष्त्री तेस्तरफको अवरलेणतै रहन्वा काम मया वढीया होला<sup>१३</sup>। युक्ला थुपले सिक्किम विरोधी कार्य गर्न सोजेपछि नेपाल सरकारले उनी र उनका समर्थकहरू लाई दिएको सुविधा पनि केही मात्रामा घटाएको प्रतित हुन्छ । किनकि त्यसै साल (वि.सं. १८८८) को मार्ग महीनामा युक्ला थुप र उनका सहयोगीहरूले 'हामीले काहाँ वस्न्या कया चाहि रहन्या' भनी सुब्बा रणसुर भंडारी हेउ शिकायत गरेको थिए<sup>१४</sup> ।

यति मात्रै किन जव लहासा स्थित चीनीया अम्वाहले सिक्किमको पदा लिई यी शरणार्थीहरू लाई सिक्किम फर्काउन माग गरे त नेपाल शरणार्थीहरूलाई सिक्किममा फिर्ता पठाउन र युक्ला थुपलाई अम्वा हेउ सुम्पन समेत तयार भएको थियो । मिति नभएको एउटा पत्रमा 'सुष्णिम वाट तिमीहरूका मुलुकमा आयाका कोताप (वोलेकका समर्थकहरू) भन्या प्रजा समेत जो जो हुन् सबै प्रजा लाई सुष्णिम पठाइ दीनु भन्या लहासाका अंवा वाट लेषि आउदा एस पाठको चीठी ताहा पठायाको ह यो कुरा आफ्ना मनमा राष्त्री लहासा वाट एस्तो लेषी आयेह भन्या कुरा प्रकाश नगरी चीठीमा लेषिया कमोजीमको कुरा चाँडो ताकीति गरी लेषि पठाउन्या काम गर' भनी आदेश दिइएको थियो<sup>१५</sup> । यस्तै प्रकारले केल्को ढेवालाई लेखेको पत्रमा काजी युक्ला थुप लाई अंवा हेउ सुम्पन काजी वीर किशोर पडिलाई युक्ला सँग केल्डोको वाटो गरी लहासा पठाइने कुराको सूचना दिइएको थियो<sup>१६</sup> ।

तर अन्ततोगत्वा नेपालले काजी युक्ला थुपलाई चीनीया अम्वाहेउ पनि सुम्पेन र सिक्किममा फिर्ता पनि पठाएन् । त्यसको सट्टा यी शरणार्थीहरूलाई राम्रो संग स्थायी रूपमा बसोवास गराउने प्रवन्ध मिलाउन थाल्यो । यसको लागि वि.सं. १८६२ मा नेपालमा रहेका सिक्किमवासीहरू को जनसंख्याको पुरा लगत राख्न (जनाना र मर्दाना समेत छुट्याइ) कप्तान हरिमललाई निर्देशन दिइयो । उनलाई लेखेको पत्रमा युक्ला थुप सँग आएका केही सिक्किमवासीहरू आफ्नो मुलुकमा फर्केर गइसकेको कुराको पनि संकेत गरिएको छ । साथै नेपालबाट सिक्किममा गई बसोवास गर्ने व्यक्तिहरूको पनि लगत खडा गर्न निर्देशन दिइयो<sup>१७</sup> ।

माथि उल्लेखित वर्णनबाट यो कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ कि नेपालले काजी युक्ला थुप र उनका समर्थकहरूलाई आफ्नो स्वार्थ पूर्ति गर्न शरण दिएको थिएन । उनीहरूलाई केवल मानवताको आधारमा नेपालमा बसोवास गर्न दिइएको थियो । न त नेपाल सिक्किम माथिको अंग्रेजहरू को प्रभुत्वलाई चुनौति दिन चाहन्थ्यो न त सिक्किमको कुरालाई लिएर चीन संग दुस्मनी मोल्न चाहन्थ्यो । युक्ला थुप द्वारा विद्रोह गराइ सिक्किममा आफ्नो राजनैतिक प्रभाव वढाउने पक्षमा पनि नेपाल थिएन ।

यस प्रकार काजी युक्ला र उनका समर्थकहरू लाई शरण दिइ नेपाल सिक्किममा आफ्नो राजनैतिक प्रभाव वढाउन चाहन्थ्यो वा उनीहरू द्वारा सिक्किमका इलाकामा

विद्रोह गराउन चाहन्थ्यो भन्ने लेखकहरूको भनाइ सत्य देखिदैन ।

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### परिशिष्ट नं. १

श्री ५ वडामाहाराजा राम साह

श्री ५ वडामाहाराजा पृथ्वीनारायण शाह

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श्री ५ महाराज सिंह प्रताप साह

उप्रान्त १ वाट मोरंग तक किरात अम्बल मै सक्तीया पक्कि सुष्मिका राजाले हंगामा गरि आइलागदा गोर्णको फौज मै कन कतल गरी धपाया तेस मुहुदामा जान्या भारादार वक्सी औमान सिं वस्न्यात सदार पार थ मंडारी सदार रामकूस्न कवर सुवा जगजीत पाँडे

१२२ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम, नं. १ र २ (डि. ८२। जुन ८३)

सुब्बा वर्जवासी पाडे सुब्बा कृत सिं कार्कि जेठा वुढा अमरसिं थापा सुष्णिमका लसकर आया-  
पक्षि सुष्णिम्या राजाले लहासामा गुहार माग्दा लहासा वाट गुहार दियेनन् २ का पाला  
देष्णी मयाको धर्मासंग को दोस्तिमा धर्माको दोस्ति छल्ल गर्दा धर्मासंगको दोस्ति छोडनु  
हामी संग दोस्ति गर्नु भनी लहासा वाट विंति गरी पठाउदा गोर्णाको र लहासाको  
दोस्ति मयो गोर्णाको र सुष्णिमको कनका नदि सांघ मया यति मया पक्षि १ सोर्गे हुनु  
मयो ३ गादिमा राज गर्नु भै गोर्णा वाट उकील भै जान्या गंगा नंद अचार्यलाई सुष्णिमले  
मादर् उकील मा-या वावत सुष्णिम्या लाई डंड गरी सीक्का रु. ४००० ली वकसनु मयो ।

### परिशिष्ट नं. २

सं. १८८३ साल फागुन वदी १ रोज २ श्री जनरल वाट सुवा जयंत णत्री - माघ सुदी ६  
रोज ६ को दिन लेष्पाका पत्र हे सुदी १२ रोज ५ का दिन आइ पुग्यो अर्थ मालुम  
मयो उप्रान्त गान्तुक ५ जना लिम्बु लापच्या आइ पुग्या सुष्णिम्याका घर कल परेह मोटया  
राजाले इकुन्दा काजीको सन्तान दाज्यू माइ भाहा वाट गयाका पुराना मानीस लिम्बु  
लापच्या सवै लाई पक्रै काटदै गरेह सवै भागी गोर्णा पसनन् भनी राजाका मानीस सीवाना  
सीवानामा वसि रहया ह्नु हाम्रो र इ प्रजा प्राणिको धर्मले उ सरन पिछा प-यौ भनं आई  
रहया ह्नु कया जवाव दिन्या हो मन्या विस्तार तिप्रा चीठीले र काजी जसपाउ थापा  
वाट आयाका विजनि स चीठीले विस्तार बुफियो धनकुटा काजी वाट बढीये लेष्णी  
गयाको रहेह फीरंगीको र हाम्रो वंदोवस्त ह् सुष्णिम फीरंगीको तावे ह् ताहाको जाजी  
वेजाजी फीरंगी सुनला त्यो कुरो हामीलाई सुन्नु वढीया हैन आफ्ना सिवाना सम्मको  
हेरचाह गर्दै आफ्ना जगामा हुसियार णवदारी भै रहनु उनका मानीस आफ्नै जानले  
भागी वसि तिप्रा जगामा वसन देउ भन आया मन्या विचार गरी पक्षि आफुले पक्षी  
पु-याउनु प-यौ डवलका मानिस लाई मन्या वसन नदिनु उस्ता वाहिक अह वसन देउ भन  
आउहन् मन्या वसन दिनु आफुले मदत दी पट्टी उठाइ त्याउना काम नगर्नु सुष्णिम्याका कुन  
कुरामा तक्रार परेह को को मारीया ह्नु त्यो निस्तुक बुफि लेणतै रहन्या गर-

### परिशिष्ट नं. ३

सं. १८८३ साल चैत्र वदी २ रोज ५ मा श्री जनरल वाट कपतान वणत सिं वस्न्यात के -  
फागुन सुदी ११ रोज का दिन लेष्पाको पत्र एही सुदी १५ रोज ३ का दिन आइ पुग्यो  
अर्थ मालुम मयो उप्रान्त फागुन सुदी १० रोज ५ का दिन अरुन तरी निसानको दर्शन गर्न्या  
सायेत दुइ दिन ढीला हुनाले ४ कौसको फरक गरी वसन्त्या काम बढीया भयेह वांकी  
सुष्णिम्याले इकुन्दाका सन्तान लाई काटदा मासन लागदा इकुन्दाको माइ जुका थुप मन्याको  
भागी पीछा मागन सुवा जयंत णत्री भयाका ठाउमा आयेह र पीछा मागन आहरहेह

कसो गन्या हो मनी सुवा जयत णात्री वाट लेष्णि आउदा आफुले उलक्याइ मदत दि मन्या नल्याउनु आफनै जानले आउन्या लाई रआहाका रैती वांहा जांछन् वांहाका रैती आहा आउछन् पीछा मागन जति आयोमन्या सीवानाका नजीक नराणनु सीवाना देष्णी वल्लै पटी कमाइ णाना माफनी जगा दी सलतन गरी राणन्या काम गर्नु मनी लेष्णि गयाको छ तेही जुक्ला थुप का साथमा आयाका रैतिहरू ताहा चैनपुरका अमलामा आयाका छ्न् मंदा सुनीछ्न् ती आयाका लाई ताही वसछ्न् मंछ्न् मन्या सलतन गरि जगाको वंदोवस्त गरी राणन्या काम गर्नु हलाम जुक्लाथुप संग जांछां मन्या लाई वाहीं जान दिनु यो विस्तार सवै काजी जसपाउ थापा ले जान्या को छ सल्लाहले वंदोवस्त गरी दिन्या काम गर्नु -

#### परिशिष्ट नं.४

सं. १८८५ साल वैशाख वदी १२ रोज ६ श्री जनरल वाट काजी युक्ला थुपके -  
चैत्र वदी ७ रोज ७ का दिन लेष्ण्याको पत्र वैशाखवदी १२ रोज ६ का दिन आइ पुग्यो अर्थ मालुम भयो उप्रांत मापा तितलिया नागरी मा पुर्पदामा जो मयाको विस्तार सुवा वाटइ तं लाई भयो हो मंन्या विस्तार समेत हाम्रा जिज्यू वराज्यू ले पनि निमक णायाकै हो हामी पनि सरन पीछामा आइ वसी रह्या हुं मनि लेष्ण्याका अर्थ निमक समफीयाका चीठीले वुफीयाको छ कौने वातको सन्देह मान्नु पर्देन आफना णातिजमिा संग सुवाका साथ रही निमक समजी रहन्या काम गर णाना दानाको वंदोवस्तको पनि लाल मोहर म आयाको छ सुवा माफत वंदोवस्त हुन्या काम छेला शुभम् -

#### परिशिष्ट नं.५

श्री जनरल वाट केहं का देवा च्याज्याम के सं. १८८७ साल कार्तिक सुदी ६ रोज ४ -  
कार्तिक सुदी ३ का दिन लेष्ण्याका पत्र कार्तिक महीनाका दीं...जादा आइ पुग्यो अर्थ मालुम भयो उप्रांत सुष्णिमका मानीस फर्काइ लिन ल्हासाका वडा अंवा र राजा लामाका हुकुमले टिगरीका तालवोय र रूपेनकीपुपा आयाथ्या देर विस्तार भयो र तालोय फर्की गया रूपेन आही छ्न् आहा मन्या जाडो र हीउं परी काजीहल्ले दुष पाउनु होला मनि विंति ग-याको होआहा आइ रहन्या मोटया र चीनीयाका हात सौपी फर्कन्या काम मया बढीया होला मन्या म लागदछ ल्हासको अंवाको उत्तर आइ पुर्गजी वडा काजी आहा आउनु नमया पनि वढीया होला मनी लेष्ण्याका कुरालाई वढीया हो सुष्णिम वाट उठी आउन्या काजी युक्ला थुप लाई ली हाम्रा भारदार काजी वीर केसर पाडे लाई केहंग को वाटो ल्हासा पठाउछौं मंन्या हाम्रा सकरि वाट ल्हासाका अंवा लाई चीठी लेष्णि गयाको येक महीना दुइ दिन भयो आहा वाट पनि सुष्णिम वाट आउन्या काजी युक्लाथुप लाई ली काजी वीर केसर पाडे ले पनि कार्तिक का येघार दिन जांदा सउवार हिजोको

१२४ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम, नं. १ र २ (डि. २२ जुन ८३)

सायत गरी प्रस्थान भै रहया कन् लहासाका अवा वाट चीठीको उतरा आइ पुग्नी वित्तिकै  
उसै धरी सुष्णिम वाट आउन्या काजी युक्ला थुप लाई ली तेही केरुडो को वाटो गरी काजी  
केसर पाँडे लाई पठाउछौं शुभम्-

परिशिष्ट नं.६

सं. १८८८ साल द्वितीय वैशाख सुदी ६ रोज ३ श्री जनरल वाट काजी वालनसिंह कुवरके-  
द्वितीय वैशाख वदी ३ रोज ६ का दिन लेण्याको पत्र र श्री जंग पल्टन का पगरीका धमौति  
षोसौनीको विस्तार स्मेत तोडा खाना ग-याको जमादार हस्ते पठायाका चीठी सवै आइ  
पुग्या अर्थ मालुम भयो उप्रांत युक्ला थुपले सुष्णिम्या सित इत्तराजी गर्न आँटी गुहार मागी  
पठायाका कुरालाई तेरो घर गरी दियाको त्यो काम तैले आँटया वढीया हवन तेस्तो आ-  
टीस् त तं जानु भन्या कुराको जवाव दीनु भन्या कुरा सुवा रणासुर मंडारी लाई लेणी  
पठाउन्या काम वढीया मयेक हाप्रा येस्तरफ तेस्लाइ मद्ध दीन्या काम वढीया हैन गुहार  
दीन्या काम नगर्नु थुक्ला थुप मा गर गरी दियामा सुष्णिम्या सीत तेस डवल संग तक्रार गर्न  
आँटया पछि अधि लेणीगया वमोजीमका मानीस लाई हाप्रा मुलुकमा राखन्या काम  
वढीया हैन काजीका भतिजा लाई पनि हाप्रा मुलुक वाट पठाइ दिनु भन्या सवै विस्तार  
सुवा रणासुर लाई लेणी गयाको क ताहा वाट पनि सोइ कुराको मदत राखन्या काम र  
आफनु हुसीयारी राखी तेस्तरफको णवर लेणतै रहन्या काम वढीया होला तोडा र  
पल्टनका दर्शन भेटका रूपैया ली आउन्या जमादारहरू पनि आइ पुगी तोडा र दर्शन भेट  
दाण्णिल ग-या ज्यादा तेस्तरफ को णै णवर समेत कुशल दोम लेणतै रहनु र वढीया हुं  
शुभम् -

परिशिष्ट नं.७

सं. १८८८ साल मीती मार्ग सुदी १० रोज ४ श्री जनरल वाट कप्तान हरिमक्त के -  
उप्रांत सुष्णिम वाट आयाका काजी युक्लाथुप हू हडवडाइ हामीले काहा वरुया कया णाइ  
रहन्या भन्या कुरा सुवा रणासुर मंडारी लाई भन्या कन् र सो विस्तार लेणी आयो  
लेणन्या कुरा सवै सुवा लाई लेणी गयाको क पुगी विस्तार बुझौला तिमिले चाँडो नगै  
भयेन रस्तामा एक छीनका विलव नगरी इलाम पुगन्या काम गर -

परिशिष्ट नं.८

उप्रांत सुष्णिम वाट तिमिहूका मुलुकमा आयाका कोटाप भन्या प्रजा समेत जो जो कन्  
सवै प्रजा लाई सुष्णिम पठाइ दीनु भन्या लहासाका अवा वाट लेणि आउदा एस पाठको  
चीठी ताहा पठायाको क यो कुरा आफना मनमा राखी लहासा वाट एस्तो लेणी

काजी युक्ला थुप प्रति नेपालले लिएको नीति १२५

आयेक मन्था कुरा प्रकाश नगरी चीठीमा लेणिया वमोजीमको कुरा चाँडो ताकीति गरी  
गरी लेणि पठाउन्था काम गर शुभम् -

परिशिष्ट नं.६

सं. १८६२ साल मार्ग सुदी १४ रोज ६ श्री जनरल कम्पांडर इन चीफ बाट कपतान हरिमत्तके-  
उप्रांत सुष्णिमका तरफ वाट हाम्रा मुलुकमा आइ वस्याका प्रजाहरू कति हुनन् युक्ला थुपका  
संगमा आयका कति हुन् गया ७२ सालका लडाभी हुंदामा हाम्रा एस तरफका रैयतहरू पनि  
सुष्णिम तरफ गयाका हुनन् ह समेत आज तक हाम्रा मुलुकका रैयतहरू कति जसो सुष्णिम तरफ  
गयाका हुन् यो सबै णसोणास जांची बुफि हाम्रा मुलुक मा आइ वस्याका सुष्णिम्याहरूको  
र सुष्णिम तरफ गयाका हाम्रा मुलुकका रैयतहरूको तपसील उतारी चाँडो चाँडो लेणी  
पठाउन्था काम गर एति घर एति जनाना एति मर्दाना एस तरफका उता गयाका र उस  
तरफका एता आयाका दुवै तरफको व्यक्त व्यक्त गरी छुट्याइ पछि कति तफावत नपन्या  
गरी चीठी पुगनी मात्र ताकीत गरी चाँडो चाँडो गरी लेणी पठाउन्था कामगर एस कुरामा  
विलंब गरी चाँडो लेणी र लेणतामा तफावत पर्न गयो मन्था अपसरीया पन्या हौ सो  
बुझी ताकीत गर सुष्णिम तरफ रहन्था कोटाप मन्थाको कोही एस तरफ आयाको ह हुन  
सो पनि लेणी पठाउनु शुभम् -



Book Review

Nepali Aama: Portrait of a Nepalese Hill Women. 1982. Broughton Coburn. 165 pages. Ross Erikson, Inc. Santa Barbara. Price US \$ 9.95.

In spite of the anthropologist's claim to enjoy a special intimacy with the people of distant societies, it is often not they who produce the most sensitive and revealing personal portraits which can contribute so much to intercultural understanding. Film-makers, poets, novelists, historians, and now development officers are in the forefront in bringing individuals of distant cultures into direct contact with our public: lay-people as well as students and scholars. The work of Camerini in films such as Dadi's Family, of journalist Critchfield in The Golden Bowl Be Broken, as well as novels by R.K. Narayan and short stories by Lu Xun are widely known. Striking images by photographers or vibrant dialogue from a skilled writer can often produce a more refined, convincing cultural portrait than we anthropologists can with our extensive ethnographies or histories. Rather than being apart from academy, these creative enterprises may be seen as instructive models for our work.

The book under review here, Nepali Aama, Portrait of a Nepalese Hill Woman, was authored neither by a writer nor a scholar. Yet, it is an attempt at a humanistic portrayal of an individual which may be an effective and legitimate way of interpreting Asian culture. A collection of some 64 B/W, informal but not very revealing photographs of the lady Vishnu Maya, are interspersed with her own statements to create a sort of vignette of her life. The author Broughton Coburn adds an 11 page epilogue with some general observations on her Gurung culture, but it remains a slight book in every respect, which may be what Coburn intended. As such, Nepali Aama may not justify a serious review. But my interest in this photographic essay lies in its style and its goals. It can be a starting point for more substantial work of this kind and for comparisons with similar presentations.

If one of the best ways to project an image of foreign life is through biography, I believe this effort by Mr. Coburn is worth our attention. Unfortunately I know of no book yet produced on Asia by anthropologists which matches the biographies by our colleagues working in the Americas and in Africa, so I turn to their writing for a model study against which to compare Nepali Aama. This is Nisa, a recent contribution by M. Shostak (Harvard U. Press, 1981). Nisa is also a portrait of a woman, illustrated with a few select photographs. It too is based on the author's intimate contact with her subject. However, similarities with the Nepalese study end here.

Whereas Vishnu Maya belongs to an agricultural society with extensive ties to the wider economy, Nisa is a !Kung woman living in a gathering and hunting culture in southern Africa. Nisa's life seems simpler

than the Nepali woman's yet her biography is much more sophisticated and she seems a more complex individual. The richness of Nisa's statements, her contributions to our knowledge of human growth, her interpretation of !Kung culture and the people around her, as well as the account of the friendship between her and her writer, are of immense value. Part of the strength of Nisa is quantitative; extensive passages on the !Kung woman's memories are supplemented with solid ethnography. Writer Shostak is also an important part of the story. Moreover, much of the force of the Africa study seems to lie in its careful organization of persona and culture. There is a powerful introductory birth scene narrated by Nisa, followed by Shostak's own account of her fieldwork and her history with Nisa. It is a detailed and useful chronicle into which a great deal of thought has gone. Each of the next 15 chapters of Nisa is divided into two sections: first we have the ethnographic review; that is followed by a first person account by Nisa on the same subject (i.e. life in the bush, or man and woman). All this is extremely well written to the point of being absorbing even though Nisa's stories in some ways repeat the ethnography. Nisa's memories of her life include vivid dialogue conveying extraordinary detail of her past, told with candor and conviction. She talks mainly about what happened to her and the people she lives with, impressing on us the issues and the quality of !Kung culture as well as the person, Nisa. One feels nothing is kept from the writer or from us, her readers.

Only when we see the art and teamwork of Shostak and Nisa at work can we imagine the potential of the Nepalese study where Vishnu Maya's life, theoretically offers greater cultural variety and historical depth. Nepali Aama has contact with a number of different castes besides her own Gurung people. She visits a distant holy place in India and another en route towards Tibet. These and many other situations provide ample opportunity for the inclusion of wider cultural influences as well as regional Nepali history and poetry. Nothing is made of the extensive cultural fabric into which this Nepalese life is inextricably woven. According to author Coburn's interpretation here, Vishnu Maya appears as a one-dimensional character: a voice but not a personality, a life but not a culture. Her remarks would be considered fatuous if attributed to one of us. Is a statement meant to become magical when issuing from the mouth of an old Gurung woman? When Aama claims ... "big people have big problems and little people have little problems..." is this meant to be Nepali wisdom or female perspicacity?

From what Coburn portrays of this lady, she is certainly talkative and appears to have considerable experience. She may even be wise. I would venture, moreover, that this is too shallow a portrayal and therefore quite unjust to the woman; certainly it is unfair to her culture. Her excessive references to the magical properties of certain local potions lack insight and fail to enhance our knowledge of indigenous medicine. Nor does it even hint at the important wider belief system of which her ideas are part. The absence of this cultural context leaves us with highly simplistic phrases; Vishnu Maya claims for example that if a woman does not pierce her ears, she will become deaf!. It makes one wonder how far beyond colonial anecdotes we have progressed.



To move to a more relevant matter, a real issue in Aama's life is her work. Her capacity for heavy work and the pressures on her obviously impressed Mr. Coburn who, to his credit, does not romanticize the labours of hill life. Many of his photos show Vishnu Maya at work, and her own remarks repeatedly bespeak her deep concern with her livelihood. Also, in the epilogue, the author elaborates a little on Gurung economy, providing some contextual basis for Vishnu Maya's activity. This theme remains undeveloped however, and we have no feeling of what it is like to be a woman and a labourer in this society. This is unfortunate since today more than ever, these are matters of special concern. Any book which is meant to address an educated lay reader, --tourist or developer or student -- can make a valuable, strong impact. In particular the personal portrait can become an effective means of illustrating and supplementing the more scientific or specialized studies on woman as well as Himalayan economy. For readers who know nothing about Nepal, the simplistic portrayal of a "peasant lady" is further weakened by an absence of reference to any of several excellent monographs on this region. There is no indication that the author knew of important background readings such as Pokhara Valley (Harka B. Gurung, 1965), Les Gurungs (Pignède, 1966), Resources and Population (Macfarlane, 1978), or The Gurungs of Nepal (Messerschmidt, 1978). In addition to these there is an important critical study of economic aid, Nepal in Crisis (Blaikie et al, 1980) which is based on the very region where Vishnu Maya lives. If none of these could be woven into the portrait, at least the publisher should list them as further reading. Nepali Aama can only be recommended along with any of those supplements.

At this point we cannot of course ask Coburn to rewrite his book. But we can acknowledge the potential of its appeal and the general need for more substantial personal portraits. If a Peacecorpsman like Coburn can produce Nepali Aama, then a Nepalese writer or a trained anthropologist ought to be able to provide us with something on the scale of Nisa. With so many more resources available to us, combined with our rich personal experience, scholars ought to take Nepali Aama as a starting point. In Asian Studies, even with books like Shinohata, A Daughter of Han, or The Twice Born, we have a long way to go to produce something of the quality of Nisa, to show how the reality of an individual's day-to-day life can have scientific merit, great teaching potential, and also reach a wide readership.

- Barbara Nimri Aziz